NEW MASSES
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by Earl Browder

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

WATCH for next week's NM—it's another one of our Special Issues. Perhaps you've already guessed its theme: the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of the Soviet Union. November 7 is a date that has been commemorated by very many people the world over since 1917, but it isn't speculation to say that it will be remembered more deeply this year than ever before. To do justice to its meaning—which is to do justice to the Soviet people—is a tremendous undertaking and we do not pretend to have fulfilled it completely. Nor can we tell you exactly what to expect from the next issue as certain features are still in the making. Some things, however, you can surely look for. One is an article by Alexander Poliakov, written shortly before he was killed on the Russian battlefront, and never before published. There will be an article-length review of Max Werner's new book, *The Great Offensive,* by Capt. Sergei Kournakoff, author of *Russia's Fighting Forces.* Isidor Schneider will contribute a discussion of the quality of Soviet leadership, and H. W. L. Dana will write on "Twenty-Five Years of the Soviet Theater." An American seaman gives a lively account of his experiences on a convoy to Murmansk. And Maj. Ruscoe Clarke has provided an exceptional study of Pavlov. The author, who wrote the piece on Soviet medical science which NM published several weeks ago, is a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons and a major in the British Army. There will also be some surprises in the way of material and writers—but see for yourself, next week.

WE KEEP hearing from all sides about the Special Issue published two weeks ago, on "The Negro and Victory." Our only discomfort is that there is still a demand for copies and every single one was sold within ten days after the issue appeared on the newsstands. Which further bears out our own conviction when we planned the issue—that the topic was one of the most important today in the eyes of millions of Americans. The response to the issue was immediate, from both Negro and white citizens. William Harrison, associate editor of the Negro paper the Boston *Chronicle,* writes to A. B. Magil, who had charge of editing the issue, "Please accept the congratulations which I have pleasure in extending to your colleagues and yourself." And James E. Burnham of the Southern Negro Youth Conference sends word from Birmingham that the issue was "swell." Mrs. Julia Walcott Cockroft of Seattle, after congratulating us on the material and general appearance of "The Negro and Victory," adds her observation that "America cannot survive without the full, real freedom and equality of the American Negro. It makes all the difference—and makes it fast!" The foregoing are typical of the letters we've received and the comments we've heard. And we have not yet been able to publish all the material we had on hand for that issue. This week you will find on page 16 Richard Boyer's profile of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., New York's Negro councilman. In forthcoming issues we will print the remainder of the many fine statements received from both Negroes and whites on "The Negro and the War."

OVER and over we are struck by the remarkable quality of literature which is coming out of this war. Yes, literature—though the writers are often not "writers" in the professional sense, though they do not conceive of their writing as "literature" according to the formal definition of the word. Nevertheless, it has that creative quality of observation, emotion, and imagination which one associates with the best literature. The pages of the daily newspaper offer examples of this sort of writing which rival anything to be found in libraries. Just as one instance, we refer you to the New York *Times* of October 25, which publishes a first-person account by an RAF pilot, Stanley Hope, who brought his plane down safely after he had been so badly wounded that he nearly passed out from loss of blood. It is a detailed story of aerial combat and the struggle against death, but it is simply told—with the sort of simplicity that lets you see and feel everything the author experienced, with an intensity and suspense that make you hold your breath. In the *Times* also there have appeared the last dispatches of Byron Darnton, written shortly before he was killed in New Guinea. Darnton was a war correspondent for the *Times* and these last dispatches, lively and warmed by a nice sense of humor, make his death seem a little incredible.

We, ourselves, can think of few pieces of writing we have been prouder to publish than the articles and stories which have been inspired by the battlefront in this war. There was "Zero Hour" by Boris Gorbatov, written on the eve of a Soviet attack against the Nazis in the Ukraine, which unforgettably expressed a Russian soldier's purpose and understanding. Another example was Mikhail Sholokov's "The Science of Hatred," a story that attracted a great deal of attention and was dramatized few days ago in the WPB's radio program *This Is Our Enemy.* We regard the account by Sam Hakam, "I Rode the Convoy to Murmansk," published in our August 25 issue, as just about as fine a piece of reportage as we have had the good fortune to secure. It is only natural, of course—a war that has evoked such extraordinary heroism, that represents a struggle of such immensity and purpose, is bound to evoke from its fighters the most creative understanding and imagination.

A NUMBER of readers have complained to us during recent weeks that their copies of NM are arriving a day or so later than usual. All we can say is: Please be patient. The traffic situation is under a wartime strain and we cannot promise delivery of copies according to old schedules. We do try to get on the presses as early as possible, to leave more time for deliveries, but that does not guarantee that your NM will arrive in business-as-usual time.

A FEW weeks ago we asked you to leave the evening of Saturday, November 28, free for an NM event—and we promised to tell you more about it later. It's an NM dinner, the first in five years, and will be held at the Murray Hill Hotel. Guests of honor will include Paul Robeson, Dr. Max Yergan, Richard O. Boyer, Art Young, William Gropper, Dr. Bella Dodd, Ralph Ellison, Leo Huberman, Frederick Field, Alfred Kreymborg, Isidor Schneider, and Samuel Putnam. The subscriptions are $2.50 a plate, $25 for a table of ten, and it's wise to make reservations early. Remember: the first NM dinner in five years. Besides, we haven't told you everything about it yet. More later.

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WILLKIE'S PLAIN TALK

Once again he says "We and our allies must establish a second fighting front in Europe." His reply to those who say "Leave it to the experts." An editorial.

FROM his travels on that modern magic carpet, the long range bomber, Wendell Willkie has brought back treasure: an urgent awareness of the strategic heart of the war where the decisive blow must be struck; an appreciation of the liberating forces that must be unchained in all the blighted areas of the world in order to win the war and win the peace; a sense of the dignity of all peoples; an understanding of America's responsibility in the forging of victory.

Mr. Willkie's radio report to the American people is a major utterance. Like Vice-President Wallace's speech on the century of the common man and Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles' Memorial Day address, it carries forward President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms and the principles of the Atlantic Charter, applying them with new concreteness in a truly global spirit. Mr. Willkie's speech was preceded by three other statements, one in Moscow, one in Chungking, and one in Washington on his return; in a sense it represents a recapitulation and amplification of all three, with special emphasis on the role and responsibilities of our own country. Once again Mr. Willkie spoke up for the second front: "We and our allies must establish a second fighting front in Europe." And once again he attacked the pernicious argument that the people must keep silent about matters that crucially affect their whole future and that they must leave military affairs solely to the experts. "Military experts," he insisted, "as well as our leaders, must be constantly exposed to democracy's greatest driving power—the whiplash of public opinion, developed from honest, free discussion." And in citing the insignificant amount of materials we have sent to our allies, particularly to Russia and China, he declared that this whole problem of producing and shipping adequate supplies "depends, I think, on how quickly we and our leaders can begin to think and act offensively, can begin to mobilize not for defense but for attack."

A large part of Mr. Willkie's address was given over to an elaboration of the idea he expounded in Chungking that "this war must mean an end to the empire of nations over other nations." When conservatives like Wendell Willkie and Sumner Welles become convinced that the colonial system must go, it is clear that the hard necessities of the war and the disasters that have befallen the United Nations in Burma, Malaya, and the East Indies are forcing certain fundamental changes despite the opposition of the diehards. And when Mr. Willkie urges a Pacific Charter and a World Charter he is, in effect, supporting the declaration of President Roosevelt on February 23 that "The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic, but to the whole world."

Particularly significant was Mr. Willkie's comment on India. It was significant because, first, he approached the problem of India as an American as well as a British responsibility, and second, in sharp contrast to the imperialist arrogance of the "American Century" school of Henry Luce, he made clear that it is an American responsibility, not in the sense of American designs on the broken pieces of the British empire, but in the same sense that the Philippines are a British problem—the freedom of India and all subject peoples is a vital interest of *all* the United Nations, essential both for winning the war and building a durable peace. Mr. Willkie would have strengthened his argument if he had added something about the mote in our own eye, Puerto Rico, the "forgotten colony."

THIS whole problem of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples is, of course, intimately related to the question of a second front. Without victory in this war—and the delay in opening a second front is definitely jeopardizing victory—there can be no question of freedom for India, China, nor, for that matter, for any of the great powers, including the United States. Mr. Willkie spoke in the midst of a new offensive launched by the British in northern Africa and of desperate fighting by American forces against a Japanese air, land, and sea attack on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. The eyes of the American people are focused on these two farflung battlefronts and they want every possible support given the brave men fighting in Africa and the southern Pacific. At the same time, however, there is a disturbing tendency in certain quarters to regard these two battle areas in a way that would distort the basic strategic conceptions of this global war.

In Africa there are involved probably no more than 200,000 men on both sides, less than half of what the Nazis alone have concentrated on a single sector of the vast Soviet front at Stalingrad. When, therefore, Edwin L. James, managing editor of the New York *Times,* suggests that the African fighting might be a substitute for a second front in Europe, is this ignorance, or is it something else?

The fact is that a breakthrough by the Nazis in the Middle East would seriously hurt the United Nations, but, on the other hand, the United Nations cannot seriously hurt Germany from the Middle East. This is true both because this area is situated on the periphery of the main centers of Axis power and because it has no base of supplies of its own but must transport them 13,000 miles from the British Isles. The fighting in Egypt is important because it has for its purpose the smashing of one pincer of the Nazi threat to Suez and the Middle East. Northern Africa, the Middle East and Dakar can become *offensive* bases only in a supplementary sense—supplementary to a major land invasion of western Europe.

ARE similarly distorted views hampering American operations in the Pacific? There are reports that some of our naval leaders tend to regard the war against Japan as separate from the war against Germany and view the defeat of Japan as something to be accomplished by the United States alone—more specifically by the Navy alone—through the slow and painful reconquest of one small Pacific island after another. This is the opposite of coalition warfare and a victory strategy. As Walter Lippmann points out: "If by landing in Guadalcanal we drew the Japanese from Siberia, could we not equally draw them from Siberia and Guadalcanal by a concentration of force against Burma and in China? And would not such an operation promise greater results for the same military investment? . . ."

Which brings us back to the point that Mr. Willkie made: that a major responsibility falls on the United States for doing what he described as plugging the leaks in the great reservoir of friendliness and goodwill which it has built up among the peoples of the world. To do this means to use our influence on the conduct of the war in both the military and political spheres in order to hurl against the Axis a land attack in western Europe—now, while the Russian armies can still launch their own counter-offensive in the East. And it means to use our influence in order to destroy the very foundations of the slave world of Hitlerism by taking those steps, which the war itself requires, toward striking the chains from subject peoples.

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THE WEEK in LONDON by CLAUDE COCKBU

THE DRIVE IN AFRICA

How the British people feel about it. The acid test is still Europe. . . . Revolt in France? Estimates of the underground's strength in the coming showdown.

London (by wireless).

THE situation in public feeling has been transformed by the news of the offensive in Africa. Here at least is definite proof of the beginning of that "offensive phase," about which Prime Minister Smuts spoke last week. Whatever may happen and whatever may be the profound differences of opinion regarding the larger strategy represented by this development, the public certainly is more definitely from Missouri this time than it was in June, when the communique on the second front was issued. It will have to be shown. It is true that the public is suspicious of offensives anywhere as a substitute for action on the continent of Europe. The public has a straightforward, shrewd, and instinctive understanding that Europe is the decisive factor.

That is not to say that the British people are not enthusiastic and deeply aroused by the news of the African attack. But it would be foolish to underestimate the effect upon public opinion of the long months of delay while the Germans were allowed to concentrate their forces at Stalingrad. It would be foolish to underestimate the effect upon public confidence of the legalistic evasions practiced by the British government in the case of Rudolf Hess. The British people are not only deeply affected by these facts, just as they are affected by the unsavory episode of the Bank for International Settlements, but they have necessarily acquired a pretty sharp skepticism with regard to all statements made by the authorities.

Therefore, while the news that an offensive has started at last has enormously lifted spirits here and has tended to decrease the feeling of shame and frustration, the acid test in the mind of very large numbers of men and women in the factories will be the pace of the offensive, and what it eventually becomes. The test will be whether the Anglo-American strategists have appreciated the fact that since Germany now controls a manpower greater than Russia's, the Allies are able quickly to divert and to split in two the main forces of the German army before Hitler has time to organize the manpower which is theoretically at his disposal.

The interest of the British public in Europe as the decisive front is enormously increased by the news from France. When the thing we have all talked so long and so much about—an earthquake upheaval in western Europe—begins to happen under our very eyes, we have difficulty in realizing that a "leap" in history is perhaps about to be made. There has been some natural misunderstanding regarding the policy of de Gaulle and the Fighting French about the situation in France. The Fighting French Committee has not called for a general revolt. General de Gaulle's last speech has to be read more exactly, whence it can be seen that he is calling for maximum resistance in response to the measures of the German and Vichy governments, but not for general insurrection.

ACCORDING to competent French Fighting circles in London, their position is that if the German government actually insists on driving matters to a showdown, then what is referred to here as "the underground" will respond with revolt in the full sense of the word. It is not pretended that this is an ideal situation. It is frankly realized that in these circumstances the ideal situations are not very apt to occur. The harsh facts, the swiftly changing forces, are what have to be dealt with. Therefore, the problem of the underground is the problem of how both to meet and to defeat the successive aggressions of Hitler and the successive betrayals of Vichy. This means at the same time not throwing away any cards and above all not failing to exercise the utmost vigilance in coordinating the effort of the underground with the effort of the Allied forces from overseas.

The factors, however, which Hitler's desperate manpower shortage have now introduced into the situation have produced a certain change in the whole position. Hitherto it has always been the Anglo-American assumption that as and when Britain and America were ready to cross into France, the underground would be ready to organize the uprising. Now a somewhat different situation occurs. Now the underground is faced with threats by Hitler and Laval which must compel resistance on an enormous scale. Obviously it is impossible for anyone to regulate as though it were a matter of bookkeeping the way in which resistance of that kind once organized and developed will extend or direct itself. Obviously, therefore, a situation exists wherein it is no longer entirely a question of the underground waiting for the Anglo-American attack. It is a situation in which the obligation of the Anglo-American forces to cross the water to assist their hard-pressed allies in France has to be seen in a new and more urgent aspect than ever.

Fighting French circles in London are positive they are not acting on a basis of wishful thinking when they declare that an entirely new stage has been reached in their country. Equally, of course, they are not making any prophecies about details or about the immediate course of events. Nevertheless, they see in all the information reaching them powerful invitations. They also see the degree to which the underground has developed itself, the degree of unity existing in the underground among members of all anti-Nazi parties. And they also give as a definite statement of fact their estimate that so far as Vichy and the unoccupied zone are concerned, there is no question that the underground is enormously stronger than the Vichy authorities.

NATURALLY nobody suggests that to defeat Vichy is the same thing as to defeat the Germans. Obviously the German power might still and probably would still—in the absence of action by the British and Americans—be capable of dealing with a revolt in unoccupied zones. It is, however, of the greatest significance that it should now be possible, as it certainly was not possible six or nine months ago, to calculate quite soberly the preponderance of the underground forces over the forces of Vichy. Equally significant are some of the almost pathetic hints being let out through the Axis-controlled radio regarding the possible reaction of Vichy to the situation now developing. I think it was the Berne radio which suggested that if the situation became totally impossible by the beginning of November there existed the possibility that the Vichy government might make a dignified retirement to North Africa. It hardly need be emphasized that hints of this kind are directed especially to Washington. For the suggestion obviously is that if the workers of unoccupied France made matters impossible for Vichy, whereupon German troops of the army of Gestapo men would take over, then Vichy would still seek to maintain links with the United Nations by once again adopting an apparently equivocal position. And after all, by adopting an equivocal position, Laval and his predecessors have already secured for themselves a long period of highly valuable collaboration with the United States.

All these calculations and speculations are, of course, at this moment, dominated by the launching of the attack in Africa and by the determination of the people that this attack must be made to be something within the framework of a larger offensive strategy.

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WATCH on the POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

IS TIME AN ALLY?

Stern statistics and the breathing spell Hitler needs to convert them into war materiel. . . . Second front currents in Washington. Admiral Land comforts the appeasers.

Washington.

IT IS imperative to realize that time is *not* on the side of the United Nations. The first three years of war enormously improved the Axis position both in manpower and materials. The chart which appears below tells most of the story almost at a glance. One element alone is lacking: the time element. A good part of what the Axis gained remains only a potential; lands and mines, factories and power plants must be repaired and worked before the enemy can benefit from his conquests. The chart, based on figures compiled by E. W. Pehrson, chief of economics and statistics, US Bureau of Mines, shows Axis increases in materials and manpower—*if* the Axis is allowed to realize them. True, the figures are only comparative, based on 1940 production levels. Since then, the United Nations have intensified their production methods so that in many instances the ratios have improved for the Allies. But then, the Axis has also upped its rate of production. The statistics do not take into account Axis advances since April of this year; fortunately these gains were not too considerable, though the Nazis did win another two or three percent of the world's petroleum, thereby improving supplies of their most critical war deficiency.

Clearly, the Axis has done well in three years—alarmingly well. Crucial war shortages have been satisfactorily overcome. Wollman Bostrom, Swedish minister to the United States, recently told newspaper reporters: "The export [from Sweden to Germany] of iron ore is less now than before the war. . . . Germany is able to cover its requirements of iron ore more conveniently from Axis-controlled sources." The Axis war machine is daily becoming better able to renew itself. For their part, the United Nations have suffered grievously when it comes to supplies of rubber, tin, tungsten, and antimony.

The Axis, of course, needs time to cash in on the loot, especially in eastern Europe and China where the Soviet and Chinese peoples have followed a scorched earth policy. Wrecked mines are useless until pumped out and equipped with machinery. Rich agricultural lands once scorched will not yield until the following season. However, allow the fascists the chance to plant new crops, and the chance to work mines and oil wells, and the Axis war potential is dangerously expanded.

A United Nations' offensive in the West, a land front in Europe striking at the heart of the Axis, can prevent the enemy from enjoying this needed leisure. While the scorched earth policy does not keep land out of production forever or render mines and factories useless indefinitely, it does prevent immediate strengthening of the enemy's war capacity. "Thousands of enterprises and factories, canneries, flour mills and so forth —all that must be put into operation," said Hitler in his latest speech. "All of it is destroyed," he complained. And then he expressed the Nazi hope: "While we are on the defensive

AXIS RESOURCES BEFORE 1939 AND AT THE PRESENT TIME

(In percentages of world total)

BEFORE THE WAR		NOW
3%	Land area	13%
10%	Population	35%
5%	Mineral resources (total)	33%
6%	Iron ore	46%
20%	Steel production capacity	34%
1%	Petroleum	7%
27%	Coal	53%
5%	Copper (mine production)	10%
7%	Lead	22%
16%	Zinc (mine production)	27%
1%	Tin	73%
2%	Manganese	30%
3%	Chrome	30%

BEFORE THE WAR		NOW
6%	Tungsten	60%
11%	Copper (refining capacity)	17%
10%	Zinc (refining capacity)	44%
1%	Nickel	5%
53%	Mercury	68%
2%	Antimony	32%
33%	Aluminum	54%
12%	Bauxite	50%
0	Rubber	90%
0	Cotton	13%
10%	Wheat	40%
14%	Sugar	36%

Figures based on statistics of US Bureau of Mines and on production figures for 1940.

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in Northern Europe, as well as in the West, we gain thereby all necessary conditions for the necessary organization of Europe with regard to this war."

Are we to allow the fascists new strength by granting them the opportunity to bolster their badly depleted economy? Hitler yearns for a breathing spell. To attack him now in Europe will force him to fight before his conquests have brought new comfort, before he can recuperate from the gigantic and disastrous expenditures of the seventeen-month invasion of the USSR.

THE urgent need for a second front is generally admitted in Washington. Yet during the week after Wendell Willkie's whirlwind visit to the Capitol, discussion of the second front issue suddenly waned, in contrast to the rising demand for action in the rest of the country. Considerable significance is placed on President Roosevelt's message to the Soviet people in which he looked forward to "the appointed time" when the United States will join with the USSR. The phrase "the appointed time" is widely accepted as promising second front action in the immediate future.

Much speculation has gone the rounds of Washington concerning the President's reaction to Willkie's second front demand. Only the *Daily Worker* pointed out that the remarks made by the President at his press conference following Willkie's Moscow statement were calculatedly misrepresented by almost the entire press; the newspapers deliberately encouraged the false impression that the President had repudiated his personal envoy. In reality, the President said nothing of the kind: he remarked merely that he had not read reports of the *colloquy and discussion* aroused by Willkie's insistence on a second front. President Roosevelt answered the question "Was Mr. Willkie speaking as your personal representative?" with the comment that a great deal of the discussion over Mr. Willkie was speculative. He did not dismiss Willkie's second front declaration as "speculation," as the press pretended.

Since then, the President has twice corrected the previous misrepresentation. He summoned Mr. Willkie to the White House without delay. Subsequently the President stressed the success of Willkie's trip and—though the reporters underplayed his remarks—very pointedly jibed at newspaper accounts of his "repudiation" of Willkie, stating that he was afraid he could not work up a controversy for anybody.

Under the circumstances, by refusing to take issue with Willkie, the President encouraged the inference that he generally agreed with him. Moreover, it is worth noting that Mr. Willkie was accompanied on his odyssey by Gardner Cowles and Joseph Barnes, both of the Office of War Information—no other government agency is closer to the administration. As domestic director of the OWI, Mr. Cowles spoke in his home town of Des Moines immediately after his return to this country. He urged the opening of a second front, pointing out that the Russians expected it in 1942, and adding: "Russia must be convinced of the good faith of her allies, not only to smooth the operation of the war, but also to make possible a workable peace."

It is inconceivable that the White House did not have some inkling of what Mr. Willkie was going to say on his trip. Nor is it entirely without significance that after seeing the President, Willkie repeated his opinion that the second front is "possible and feasible." He made this statement while still in the White House, just outside the President's office.

It is further remarked here that Joseph Stalin's letter to the Associated Press correspondent, emphasizing the "first rate importance" of opening a second front, evoked two statements by Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles (Mr. Hull was out of town), pledging all possible haste in rushing physical and material aid to the Soviet Union. Secretary Welles' prompt and emphatic reiteration of American intent and policy to render aid in every manner is taken as an indication of Washington's determination to fulfill all commitments to its allies.

It was understood, in the light of past experience with Soviet statesmanship, that Premier Stalin's letter was not the final word from the Soviet Union. Therefore, the Soviet demand for the trial and punishment of Rudolf Hess is seen as a logical follow-up, heightening the fight against the appeasers and defeatists. As further indication of the Soviet resolve to give the appeasers no rest, Vladimir Krushkov, secretary of the Soviet Information Bureau in Moscow, specifically named Lady Astor and Captain Ackworth in England, and Hearst, McCormick, and Coughlin in this country who, with others, "take every step to suppress the increasing demand . . . for the opening of a second front." Quite obviously, to the appeasers must be laid the responsibility for delay in fulfilling pledges given Foreign Commissar Molotov at the time of his visit. The Munichmen in England and their echoes here, linked one to the other through their liaison man, the British ambassador, Lord Halifax, have discouraged in every possible manner the opening of a second front. Lord Halifax in an interview first raised the false slogan: "Leave the second front to the military." Motivating every appeaser trick is one clearly defined desire—to let the Soviet Union and the Nazis slug it out, until the Soviets are completely exhausted. But Premier Stalin made clear—and his words have been duly noted—that the Soviet Union will survive more united than ever, no matter what threat it must overcome, no matter how powerful the enemy may at first appear. The appeasers, it becomes more apparent, are not merely betraying the Soviet Union with their scheming; they are betraying America and Great Britain, paving the way for a debacle even more sweeping than Munich.

THE appeasers have become increasingly vocal in the past few days. Rear Admiral Emory S. Land, head of the US Maritime Commission, gave them aid and comfort with his defeatist remarks that "We can't lick the submarine menace," and his further desire to shoot union organizers at sunrise. The bloodthirsty admiral, violating the express orders of the President that require public officials to submit speeches in advance to the OWI, did his share to keep alive the outworn argument about lack of shipping. At a party attended by leading government officials not long ago, the story was assiduously circulated that ship shortages ruled out the possibility of a second front. These "facts" have been disproved time and again. But the appeasers are persistent. Lately they have changed their tune somewhat—they now propose a "substitute" second front in Africa.

The success of the appeaser campaign is attested to by the tendency of the great majority in Congress to avoid mention of the second front as though it were the plague. Except for Senators Murry and Brown, and for Reps. John Coffee, Elmer Holland, George Bender, Vito Marcantonio, and a very few others, the members of Congress insist that the second front is no affair of theirs. "Leave it to the military," they say. Representative Coffee told me, "I am convinced that certain highly placed men—both brass hats and civilians—consciously or unconsciously show reluctance to authorize any military movement that might assist the Russians. But Americans are fatigued with the attitude that says 'We must be ready for the Axis when *they* strike.' The time has come, in my judgment and from my understanding of what the people back home think, to substitute the approach which says, 'Let's see if the Axis is ready for us when *we* strike.' "

President Roosevelt has repeatedly indicated his conviction that the war can be won only by offensive action. For their part, many high American army officers have expressed their readiness and eagerness to open a second front. The opinion I have heard in Washington repeatedly from win-the-war spokesmen—and insistently from leading unionists—is that the stronger and more vocal are the people's demands for a second front, the sooner President Roosevelt will be in the position to give the command to fight.

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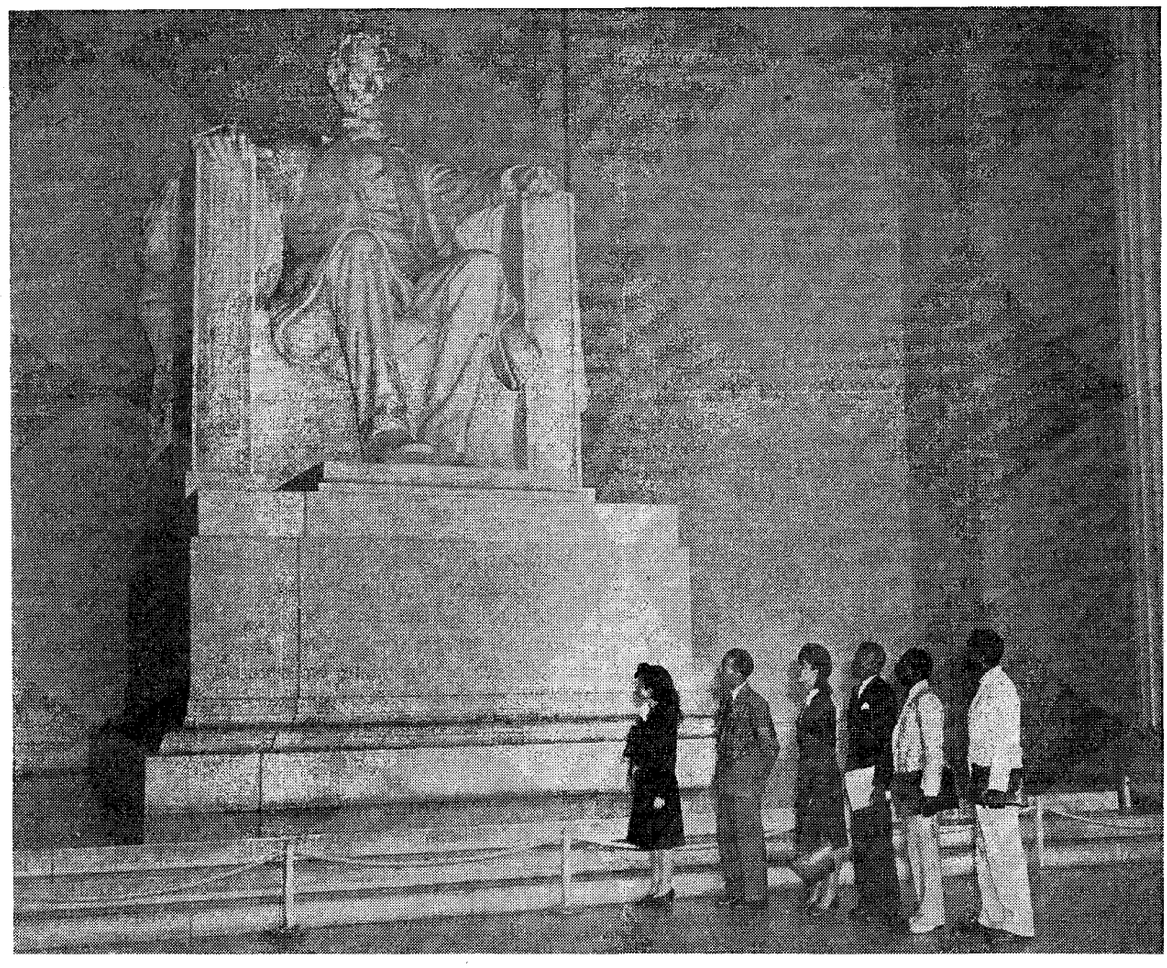

Visit to the Emancipator. Negro Youth Congress leaders take time off from one of their recent sessions to see the Lincoln Memorial.

CONSPIRACY IN THE SOUTH

The men who are doing Hitler's work. What's behind the recent lynchings. Labor takes a hand in stopping the Kluxers. Second in a series by Joseph North.

Birmingham.

LIEUT. NORA GREEN, Negro army nurse stationed at the Tuskegee Army Flying School, had not been wearing her gold bars long when she received orders to prepare for overseas service. A hundred and one things had to be attended to before she sailed: one was to buy the necessary clothes for the journey across the Atlantic. She boarded the bus to Montgomery for that purpose.

Lieutenant Green, wearing her gold bars proudly, isn't on her way overseas now. She is in a hospital. The bus driver punched her into unconsciousness for protesting the denial of a bus seat which she had reserved in advance.

Let us assume that one of the Nazi agents who landed from a submarine on the Florida coastline had been assigned to the South. He could not have done a better job for the fuehrer than plot this atrocity on a humdrum bus in Montgomery, capital of Alabama. "Something like that makes you wonder if Montgomery isn't still the capital of the Confederacy," a Negro editor said to me.

Somehow one isn't surprised that it happened in Montgomery. In the state capitol sits a man, Governor Dixon, one of those who can be held to account for such atrocities. He is the man who denied President Roosevelt's injunction that Negroes, as well as whites, be hired on all governmental contracts, particularly those involving war orders.

"Governor Dixon has set a splendid example for other southern governors," the *Dothan Eagle* (Ala.) wrote on July 26. Dixon's defiance signaled a flareup of atrocities. Before I was through writing this article, three Negroes had been lynched in Mississippi, two of them boys of fourteen. Across the Alabama stateline, in Georgia, Governor Talmadge had inspired the formation of a new streamlined Klan, the Vigilantes Incorporated.

The *Greensboro Watchman* of Alabama put it bluntly: "The night-riders will be out again. There will be hangings, shootings, burnings." Yes, Jim Crow today wears the SS uniform of Himmler the Hangman.

OF COURSE I didn't see any white-hooded Kluxers marching through streets of Alabama cities while I was there. They haven't reached the proportions of a mass movement. If prompt federal action is taken, they never will. If labor, and the people generally, make their anger felt, they never will. In fact, all the instances of terrorism are perpetrated by isolated gangs —untypical of the people as a whole. But the terrorists are laboring diligently to swing hundreds of thousands behind them by preaching "white supremacy." Everywhere I went I heard

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of the dangerous handiwork of these individuals. Some have secretly wangled themselves into labor's ranks; they have representatives in other places. All over the state and throughout the South, you find their traces—the thumbprints of Hitler are there. It is as though the fuehrer had unloaded scores of spies on our long southern coastlines to act as agent-provocateurs. He may well have told them "Go, men of the *herrenvolk*. Go through the South and preach white supremacy. Revive the spirit of the night-riders. Tell the whites: 'If you go to war the Negroes will dominate your Southland.' Tell the Negroes: 'Why go to war, this is a white man's war.'"

WHEN the archives of the enemy are opened, after this war is won, we may well find such orders. Whether we do or not, things are happening in the South which bear the pattern of the enemy's strategy. Negroes and whites, in all parts of Alabama, told me that sinister propaganda is being spread to stir up dissension. Tales of Negro soldiers throwing kisses at white women, of Negroes saying, "When you white men go to war, we'll take care of your womenfolks," crop up mysteriously in stereotyped fashion all over the state. This may sound ridiculous, but it's not ridiculous when it comes from the mouth of one of Birmingham's leading attorneys, "Judge" Horace Wilkinson. He said just that when he urged the formation of a League of White Supremacy before the Bessemer Kiwanis Club last July 22. Wilkinson's speech sought to inflame his listeners by citing alleged instances of Negro troops throwing kisses at white college girls. He railed at the government, at the Fair Employment Practice Committee, at every measure necessary for victory.

By now there is no doubt that his was the first step in a planned campaign. Its Southwide character has clearly emerged. Copies of his speech went by the thousands to southern newspapers, businessmen, and public officials. Wilkinson himself journeyed to Washington to consult southern poll-tax congressmen. He boasted that he received thousands of letters after his speech praising his stand.

No wonder the Negro and his white allies in the South have come to identify "Nordic supremacy" with "white supremacy." "They are kin," the white labor leader said. And the "white supremacy" plot does not stop with the Negro. I learned that a potential Klan setup in Alabama, as projected by "Judge" Horace Wilkinson, would include tenets against the Jews and Catholics, as well as against the Negro.

Plotters' Gallery. (upper left) "Judge" Horace Wilkinson of Alabama; (upper right) Governor Dixon of Alabama; (lower left) Governor Talmadge of Georgia; (lower right) Borden Burr of Alabama.

There is more than coincidence in this: the day following Wilkinson's speech—last July 22—Governor Dixon hurled the gauntlet at Roosevelt, defying the President's Executive Order No. 8802 which requires that Negroes as well as whites be hired on governmental contracts. I discovered from newspapermen that the governor had copies on hand of Wilkinson's speech before it was delivered. Dixon gloated over it, tried to "sell" it to the press. This, despite the fact that the governor and Wilkinson have long been political rivals and do not talk to one another. But one Borden Burr takes care of the little problem of personal hostility. Burr, attorney for the Tennessee Coal & Iron Co., an affiliate of US Steel, acts as the go-between for Dixon and Wilkinson. He stands in the center of the Kluxist network. He unites, I ascertained, the most reactionary section of the planters and the most reactionary group of employers. It is significant that he was one of the moving spirits of the Liberty League. It is an earmark of this conspiracy that it breathes hatred of the Roosevelt administration as it does of the Negro.

Another figure in the plot is E. D. LeMay, public relations counsel for the TCI. He tipped his hand when he tried—and failed—to get the Alabama Press Association to endorse Dixon's defiance of President Roosevelt.

This conspiracy is not merely sectional: the threads can be traced to Washington and to the North—to certain anti-New Deal Democrats and Hoover Republicans.

MEANWHILE incidents multiply on the streetcars, on the buses, in the crowded rural towns where Negro troops are stationed. I heard a Negro say that he feels like bidding his family farewell every time he takes a trolley car or a bus to go downtown. He never knows what minor incident may provoke an outburst which can result in a shooting. These things are happening almost daily. Scores of Negroes have been beaten and arrested in Memphis, Tenn.; Beaumont, Tex.; Columbus, Ga., and elsewhere for incidents arising out of their desire to get transportation on public buses, now overcrowded because of war needs. The city council of Beaumont, Tex., has threatened drastic punishment for violation of Jim Crow bus laws. A white union organizer has been beaten in his office for the crime of "disagreeing with Governor Dixon." Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers officials have received anonymous notes threatening their lives. Negro and white miners must go armed to the mines in fear of Kluxer violence.

I decided to see a number of representative citizens on this issue. What did they think of Wilkinson's ideas? Or Dixon's actions? What did they make of the whole idea of "white supremacy"? How did that jibe with the aims of the war? How did it relate to the successful prosecution of the war? One of the first men I went to see was Congressman-elect John P. Newsome.

MR. NEWSOME is going up to Washington for Jefferson County, which includes Birmingham, next term. He told me he was a small businessman, "no big shot." He said he sees his election not as the beginning of a political career, but as a means of serving his nation in wartime. Victory, he said, was his only ambition; nothing less, nothing more. We got around to discussing the Negro. He had shown himself as patriotic as his white brothers, I said, as willing to die for his country as the next American. "There was Colin Kelly of Florida," I said. "And there is Dorie Miller of Texas. Brave men, white and black." Mr. Newsome kept his silence. I told him what a Negro labor leader had said to me: "This is total war. Total war means the mobilization of total manpower. Total effort means victory, otherwise we'll lose. Hitler's using total effort. But we in the South are barring nearly one-third of our people—the black people—from total effort." I told the

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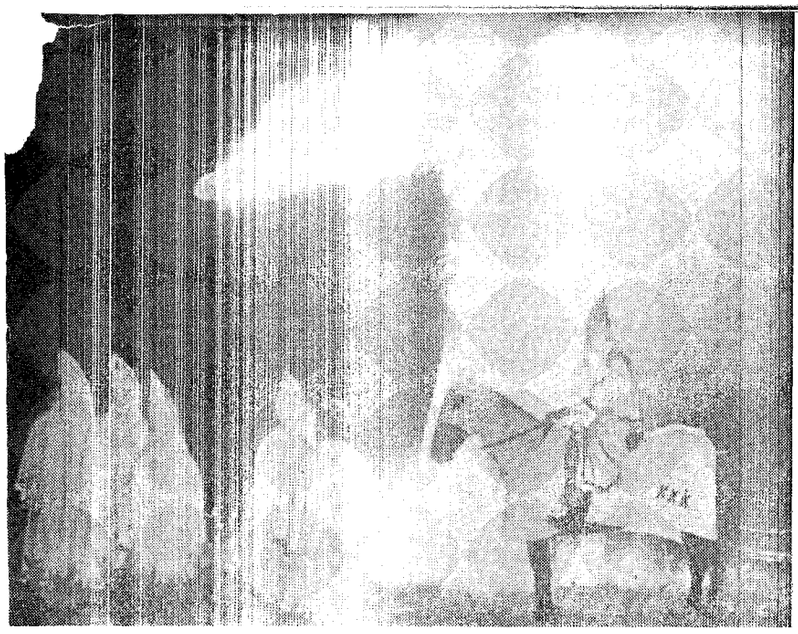

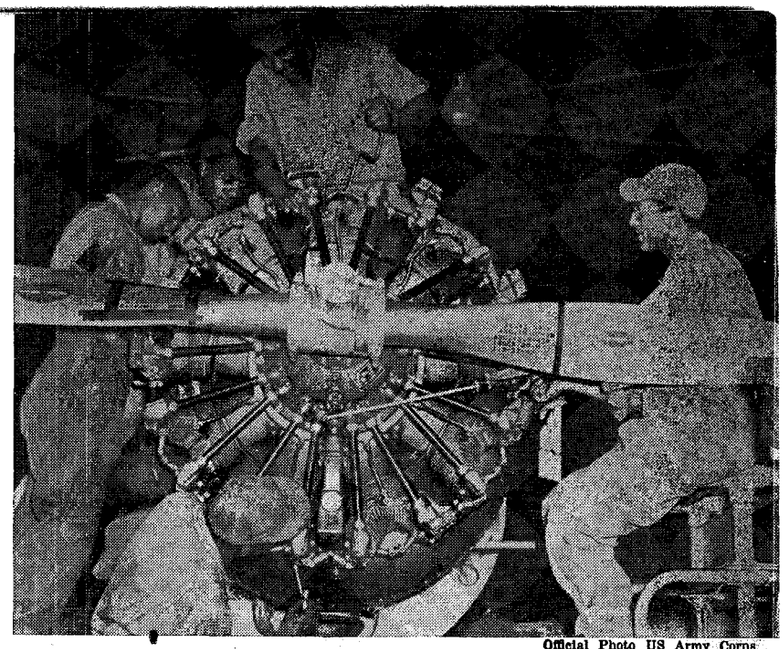

Official Photo US Army Corps

The Klansmen have their way—these young Negroes will not be able to work for victory.

congressman-elect [illegible] Negroes and whites had said the same to me. [illegible], buttoned his well tailored, double-breasted coat. "I can't see why they feel that way," he said coldly. "They're working in war industry. They've got more money than they ever had. *Nobody's stopping them from serving.*"

I thought of Congressman-elect Newsome often during my journey through Alabama. *"Nobody's stopping them from serving."* Ask "Judge" Wilkinson that; ask Governor Talmadge that. I questioned Mr. Newsome about Wilkinson's Bessemer speech. He thought that the speech had little "practical" significance. It did not represent, he said, a recrudescence of the Klan. "Nor some streamlined version of it?" I asked. "Nor that," he said. Its only significance, he felt, was that it served as a warning. It was a threat. The connotation was sufficiently clear. If the black man does not "keep his place," perhaps Judge Wilkinson's threat may become reality. Mr. Newsome did not say "keep his place." He used the euphemism "retain the status quo." I wondered what contribution Mr. Newsome would make toward "victory, my only purpose" with an outlook of this sort. I asked Mr. Newsome, before departing, what he felt about the poll-tax vote in Congress. He was prompt in his reply: "I don't agree with it. That is a matter of State's rights." Later I learned that Mr. Newsome had been the local campaign manager for Governor Dixon in a previous election.

I ENCOUNTERED similar reactions in the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, where I spoke with Jessica Ingram, director of the publicity department, and Donald L. Park, director of Trade and Commerce. They were not in favor of Wilkinson's sentiments, but they manifested a friendly tolerance toward him. "It served as a warning." "You northerners don't understand the Negro problem." "We get along with them better than you do in the North." Yes, Negroes are 100 percent behind the war, but "they're satisfied with conditions unless outsiders stir them up." I found among them praise for the Negro's patriotism, but a blind spot in the question of transforming that praise into practical improvement of the Negro's lot. Many of the business people who genuinely wish to do everything necessary for victory—and these are in the majority —see no relation between the full mobilization of all Americans —*black* and white—and an all-out war effort. "They think they can win the war with one hand," a Negro leader said. "One hand against Hitler, the other to keep the Negro down," he said.

State Senator James Simpson is said to be Number Three man in the great state of Alabama. "The ablest Tory of them all" somebody described him. You can find the senator in his skyscraper offices at the Frank Nelson Building; from his windows you can see Red Mountain smoking, turning out the steel which has brought Birmingham its prominence.

The senator is urbane, suave, articulate to the point of eloquence; there is nothing about him that suggests the Dixie Demagogue. Attorney for some of the biggest interests in the state, he has power behind him, and he speaks with consciousness of that power. People say he will be going up to Washington one of these days, in Senator Bankhead's place. The latter knows of Mr. Simpson's ambition and is scarcely on speaking terms with him. Moreover, Senator Simpson is a political opponent of Horace Wilkinson.

Senator Simpson gives the impression that he does not favor Wilkinson's projected Kluxist movement. But you get the impression, too, that he believes Wilkinson is operating in all seriousness; that his goal is the organization of a new Klan.

But Mr. Simpson himself, whether he favors or opposes Wilkinson's plot, treads a dangerous political road. This became evident in his reaction to Governor Dixon's defiance of Order 8802. He has told Alabamans that he agreed with the governor's defiance of Executive Order 8802. He felt that the Negro was not the issue in that case. What was at stake was the "violation of the sovereign rights of the State of Alabama." I heard that expression frequently among politicos and those close to them. "We won't stand for Washington cramming legislation down the throat of Alabama, on the pretext of winning the war," is a common statement among them. *"On the pretext of winning the war!"*

In general you find that many in high places in Alabama do not like Wilkinson's technique, are embarrassed by the national notoriety the "white supremacist" has brought the state. Likewise with Governor Dixon's defiance of President Roosevelt; it is most significant that the Alabama Press Association refused to endorse the governor's position when E. D. Le May lobbied frantically for it at the publishers' convention held several days after Dixon's statement was made. But you continue to hear the outworn shibboleths of the eighteenth century—the "state's rights" arguments. I wondered if men like Senator Simpson did not see that their opposition to Washington's necessary war measures would lead them to covert, if not open, endorsement of "Judge" Wilkinson's terrorist organization.

THE next man I went to see was Alton Lawrence. Alton Lawrence is a young aggressive man . . . prototype of the CIO leader. Quiet mannered, self-assured, he is one of the mainstays of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union in Alabama. I asked him his opinion of the strength of Wilkinson's movement. Had the "white supremacists" made any dent in labor's ranks? They had, he told me. He said that the Klan

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slipped agents into trade unions. "To bore from within." Their operations are as clear as a swastika. They bide their time, then move into action when they believe they have an issue to arouse the prejudices of some of the white workingmen, many of whom have recently come from the rural areas where the "white supremacy" shibboleth has greater influence than among older industrial workers.

He cited an incident that had happened in the Winona Mine local of the union. A white motorman had quit his work; the company had placed a non-union worker in his place. The union had opposed that, and its contract provided for replacement on the basis of seniority. Next in line was a Negro workingman. The union's top committee had the Negro placed in the job.

This was the moment for the Kluxer-inspired trouble to start. It did. A small group of white workingmen, some three or four, objected. One of them went to the management. pretended to represent all the "white men in the Winona mine." This worker claimed that he would bring a "new union" into the mine. Later he had some of his group stone the Negro motorman. The majority of the union, *white* and Negro, came to the defense of the Negro worker. They made their position clear, wouldn't be talked down, or frightened into acquiescence. The Negro is still on the job. It is of national interest to know that the new union which the Kluxer-inspired worker had tried to bring into the mine was John L. Lewis' District 50.

"The defeat those Kluxer-dominated workers in that mine suffered," Lawrence said, "can be repeated, with proper leadership, in practically every industry where white and Negro work in the South today." He indicated that the "white supremacy" plot has been hatched by political desperadoes, men who see that the trend of history is against them, and who seek to stem that trend. Their motivation, he felt, is to alienate the southern people from the Roosevelt administration, to disrupt war production, to incite violence against Negro soldiers and civilians. Some are southern representatives of big industries whose central officers have taken a good position on the war—who understand the need for national unity. But the lure of "cheap southern labor" has evidently blinded their southern representatives and thrown them into the subversive camp of "Judge" Horace Wilkinson.

He warned me that in gauging these facts, these incidents of violence, one must never overlook the point that the bulk of the southern people welcome the steadily growing unity of Negro and white Americans in the South. "This unity is especially marked in the increasing ranks of organized labor." He said that the immediate reaction of labor to the Dixon-Wilkinson conspiracy is an earmark of the will of the vast majority of the southern people for national unity. The CIO Steel Workers locals of Ensley and Fairfield, Ala., for example, issued a leaflet that said: "A union cannot be founded on lies, deceit and appeals to prejudice. An appeal to racial prejudice is reprehensible at any time, but when made in time of war it is plain treason to our country."

Noel Beddow, southern regional director of the CIO and the Steel Workers Union, had put it this way: "Tonight men are working to drive a wedge between the white man and the black man in the South and they are working for the forces of Adolph Hitler."

Lawrence urged me to look up what the *Montgomery Advertiser* and the *Birmingham Age-Herald,* two of the biggest papers in Alabama, had written on the Wilkinson-Dixon business. I did. Both supported the enforcement of federal war policies and opposed the actions of Governor Dixon. "The greatest duty of us all," the *Age-Herald* wrote, "at this critical moment is to increase understanding, to keep down misunderstanding, incitement of internal animosities of any kind. The government in our conviction is trying to advance unity by combating fundamental injustice."

JOSEPH NORTH.

PRESS PARADE

Reply to Severesky

"IT IS with a sense of shock and apprehension, . . . I therefore, that we read press dispatches to the effect, I hope untrue, that the author of 'Victory Through Air Power' [Maj. Alexander de Seversky] is publicly declaring that our battle planes are inferior to those of the enemy, and is conveying the impression that our young air officers accordingly are psychologically handicapped in their air duels.

"No such conclusions seem justified by reports from the front. The only real test proves critics wrong.

"These statements, if made, in my opinion have a tendency to help the enemies of our country. Axis powers will hail the statements, if made, with delight . . . their nerve blitz agents fully realize the psychological impact . . . the hurt to the morale of your sons facing the enemy in the sky about the world. . . .

"Briefly, Seversky is conducting a campaign through his book, through the radio and on the platform to establish the popular belief that victory in this war . . . now may be won by the easier way, through air power alone . . . that the vast Army of Ground Troops, with its armored divisions, and the great Navy we are building are merely auxiliary to the airplane . . . that the leadership of the Army and Navy is backward . . . wilfully repressive of the development of air power and cannot be trusted with the direction of war in the air, for which, he contends, only air experts like himself are qualified. . . .

"Seversky should know that the earth-shaking series of victories of the German army in the conquest of Europe was due to the fact that air power was lashed to the tank-infantry-artillery team, under the direct orders of the Ground Task Commander. The Ground Army did not watch and wait for enemy to be prostrated by distant bombardment, but rather attacked in a unified coordinated TEAM, with its air support, and thus won victories unprecedented in the story of warfare.

"It will be through recognition of these principles, old as warfare, that victory will be won by the American Army, Navy, and Air Force, when D-Day and Zero Hour herald the attack that will sound the death knell of Nazidom."

Maj. Gen. Paul B. Malone in the November "Skyways." Major General Malone was commanding general of the Fourth Field Army in the last war and commanding officer in the Meuse-Argonne offensive.

You Don't Need a Comforter

"WILL you please tell me where I can have a comforter made with my own feathers?"

"Shopping Questions" Column in "PM," October 22.

[Readers are invited to contribute to this column. A year's subscription to NEW MASSES will be given for the best item submitted each week. Please enclose the press clipping from which the item is taken.]

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VICTORY—AND AFTER

Foregoing the pastime of blueprinting the postwar world, Earl Browder indicates what can be said with a "reasonable degree of certainty." Key problems and their solution.

VICTORY for the United Nations over the Axis will bring us face to face with the problems of the postwar reorganization of the world. Many persons and organizations are busily preparing blueprints in anticipation of that day. That is a pastime in which I cannot join. I have no blueprints for the postwar world.

A few things about that postwar world we can say with a reasonable degree of certainty.

With the Axis crushed, all mankind will face the problems of, reconstruction of the world in a condition of freedom to develop its capacities beyond that of any previous generation. There will be a flowering of the genius of the human mind such as has always followed the removal of great repressive forces.

There will be freedom for national development of the hitherto oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and of the submerged nations of Europe. These peoples will achieve a measure of self-determined existence which will be a new high mark in history. No conceivable reactionary postwar trends among the great powers can cancel out this gain. And it will be a gain for freedom for all the world.

Many nations which have long been socialistic in their dominant trend of political thought will finally be free to translate their thought into action. It is quite probable that the immediate postwar world will produce at least one more Socialist Republic besides the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics now existing. Others may adopt some new intermediate type of social and economic organization which is not socialism or the capitalism hitherto known.

The United States, if it successfully meets the cruel tests of this war and contributes its share to the victory, will almost certainly enter the postwar world as the strongest capitalist country and the political center of gravity of the capitalist sector of the world. It will have an enormously important role to play, therefore, in the family of nations.

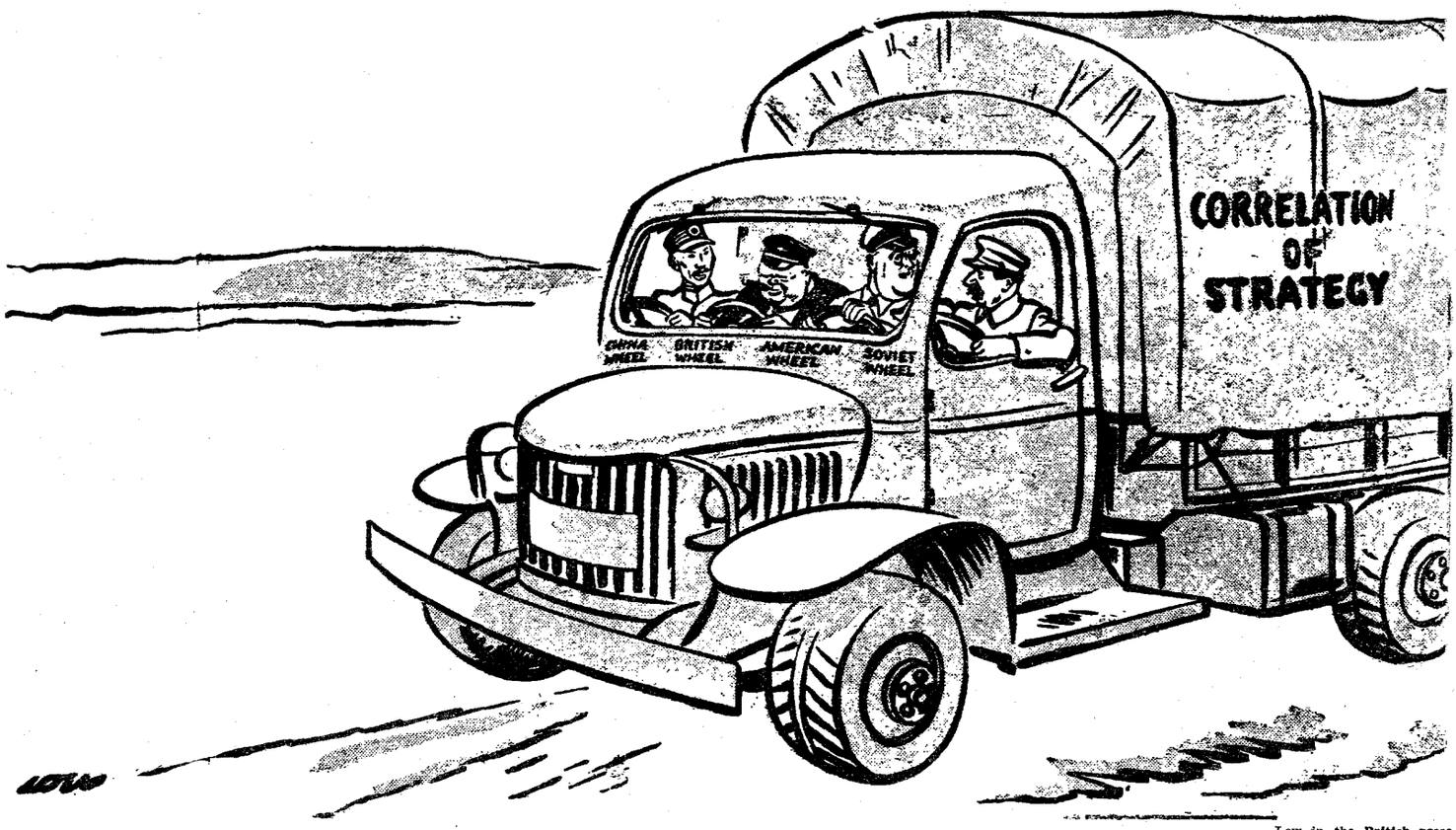
THE central problem of this postwar world will be that of whether or not the collaboration set up for the war, in the United Nations, can be continued and extended after the war to deal collectively with the problems of economic and political reconstruction of the world. Upon the answer to this question depends all further determination of the character of the postwar world.

If the United Nations as a center of world collaboration can be continued and extended it is possible to hold out the realistic perspective of a rapid healing of the terrible wounds of the war, and great strides forward in attaining for all peoples those goals of cultural and economic advancement indicated in outline in the Atlantic Charter. It will then be possible to minimize those upheavals and civil wars which are generated in the course of the international war and which tend to break out on its termination; it will be possible to find a maximum degree of peaceful and orderly development for all nations.

This, it seems to me, is the central issue which must be kept to the forefront in all thinking about postwar problems, if we are to avoid the grave danger that preconceived schemes and blueprints may become obstacles instead of aids to world reconstruction. It is even more immediately called for as a means through which consideration of postwar problems helps now, during the war, toward victory for the United Nations and does not act as a divisive influence undermining the war effort.

It is the policy of the Communist Party to aid in every way possible, in collaboration with all like-minded persons and groups, to secure the fullest integration of the United Nations for the war and equally for the postwar period after victory has been won.

If this is achieved it will be an unprece-



"Now supposing we all try to go somewhere together. . . ."

Low in the British press

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dented step forward in history. And it is clear that the unprecedented cannot be achieved by following old doctrines based upon precedent.

That is not to say that the aim is utopian or unreasonable. The very heart of historical development lies in the constant achievement of unprecedented things. If nothing happened except according to precedent there would be no history at all. The Communist understanding of history, which is the school of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, presents no obstacle to setting such as an aim as that of the United Nations in war and peace, but on the contrary is of the greatest assistance; we Communists have been long habituated to planning for the unprecedented, and our theory is no dogma or rigid doctrine but rather a guide to action in the real world. Men make history, even if they must make it from the materials they find at hand, and if in war we weld together a powerful entity in the United Nations, that will also be material for building the peace.

THE kind of peace that will follow the war depends upon what kind of war we make. To the degree that we conduct and win this war as a war of the United Nations, to that same degree we are preparing the United Nations as the instrument for ordering the postwar world.

Victory over the Axis will remove that greatest of all threats to civilization; it will at the same time remove the force primarily responsible for welding together the United Nations. With the threat of Nazi enslavement removed, all the divisive tendencies within the United Nations will reassert themselves with new vigor. That will be a new testing time for the United Nations, one which will measure how fundamentally the fires of war have welded the international solidarity of progressive mankind.

The main domestic problem of the postwar period will be that of transition from a war economy to a peace economy. This will bring us suddenly face to face again with the problem that had thrown the whole capitalist world into crisis from 1929 until the present war engulfed the world, namely the problem of a strictly limited demand for commodities far below the productive capacity of the national economy. The war will have accentuated this contradiction manifold through plant expansion.

Will the United States and the rest of the capitalist world relapse into the chronic economic crisis we experienced since 1929? Will we admit that we can achieve maximum production for war, but that it is impossible to produce for peace on a similar scale?

That is the answer that is already given by our most authoritative economic thinkers in the first days of the United States' full commitment to the war. Here is the picture of United States postwar economy given by the American Academy of Political and Social Science:

"The national income will drop almost overnight to one-third or one-half its war peak. . . . There will be corresponding unemployment still further increased by . . . economies of production methods. . . . Any plan for the future that fails to accept these facts is unrealistic and futile." *(Annals of the American Academy,* Philadelphia, Pa., March 1942, page viii.)

IT IS impossible for me to agree with this defeatist approach to our postwar economic problems. One the contrary it seems to me that it is this approach which is "unrealistic and futile," and that the American people will never accept it. It is the extreme of unreason to assume that only the unlimited demand of war can bring forth the maximum production of our economy, while peace must necessarily be accompanied by idleness and stagnation. This perspective is entirely unacceptable to the common sense of the people. If we can produce battleships, tanks, planes, and all the materiel of war in such quantities, in war time, there is no valid reason why we cannot produce an equal amount of values in the peacetime needs of the population when the war is over. Economists who refuse to face this problem and give a reasonable answer to it will find all their postwar plans rejected by the people when the time comes to decide such questions.

It is true precedent shows us no way in which this can be done without fundamental changes in our economy. Just as the war has shown the possibility of solving "impossible" problems, so will the coming peace. Unprecedented accomplishments in the war will teach us to do the unprecedented things that will be necessary in peace. Theories which "prove" that necessary things are "impossible" will have to be thrown into the discard.

Any further ventures into the "unexplored territory" of the postwar world would serve no useful purpose at this time. This far it is necessary to go now in order to strengthen our war effort; the people must have a practical program offered them which holds out a realistic perspective of an orderly world emerging out of the present war, and this is given us in the United Nations for peace as for war; the people rebel against the thought that when the war is over they will be thrown into the scrap heap of the unemployed, and they must be given the assurance that it will not happen, that our national economy will serve them in peace with something of the efficiency with which it now serves the war.

EARL BROWDER.

Prize winners in the United Hemisphere Poster contest. The first prize (left) in the Latin American group went to Jose Renau of Mexico. The second prize (center) in the US-Canadian group was taken by John A. Gaydos of New York. Fourth prize winner (right), also in the Latin American group, was awarded to Demetrio Urruchua of Buenos Aires. The posters are now on exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, N. Y.

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NO PLACE TO LIVE

The sad picture of war housing. Confusion over the type of dwellings to be built—and where and how many. Effects on manpower, production. Labor has a job to do.

THE old nursery school rhyme which told the pointed little story that "for want of a nail, the horse was lost; for want of a horse, the rider was lost; for want of a rider, the battle was lost," can be paraphrased to describe the present housing situation: "for want of a home, the worker was lost; for want of the worker, the tank was lost; for want of the tank, the battle was lost." Another destroyer a month could be built at the Charleston, S. C., Navy Yard if more housing were available for needed workers.

Confusion and delay—two words which often come up in discussions of our production setup—certainly apply to the housing situation. There has been confusion in the type of dwelling units to be built, the number required, the areas where they should be located. There has been delay in appropriations, in priorities, and in construction. The underlying purpose of the government's housing program has not been to provide the houses required by an all-out war economy. It has been to maintain peacetime conditions in the building industry as far as possible and fit war housing into that pattern, filling up the worst gaps in acutely overcrowded areas. The chaotic system of priorities allocation in the past, the failure to develop new sources of critical materials, the slow rate of conversion, the heavy concentration of war contracts in a few areas, and the absence of a planned manpower program—these things also account for the fact that the housing program is just about a year behind the necessary requirements.

IT IS almost impossible to secure an accurate picture of housing needs throughout the country. We know, however, that in at least twenty vital production areas, scheduling and output have been curtailed by lack of housing facilities for workers. The high quit rate in the shipbuilding and aircraft industries is traced mainly to the fact that thousands upon thousands of workers have no place to sleep in comfort; they must use beds in eight-hour shifts, the so-called "hot-beds" prevalent in all overcrowded areas. The War Manpower Commission reports that "in a number of localities, it appears necessary to defer further recruitment until housing for workers is made available." At the Richmond, Calif., shipyards it was necessary to hire 15,000 men in order to add 9,000 employees and replace 6,000 who had left because of no housing accommodations.

Since the start of the public housing program in October 1940, a total of 424,000 units has been projected. Only 141,000—one-third—have been completed. While 168,000 are under construction, the major part of the housing program is still in the blueprint stage—and this at a time when we are racing toward the peak of war production. The high-water mark in the completion of new war plants was expected this month. But the housing program, at the present rate of construction, will probably reach the proposed goals in about four years! Which offers the happy prospect of munitions plants standing idle because men and women cannot be recruited to work in them while no provisions are made for even minimum shelter.

The various reorganizations and consolidations of housing agencies have scarcely improved the situation. There are now three main housing agencies, instead of sixteen, under the National Housing Agency, and John B. Blandford replaces the former real estate operator Charles F. Palmer as national housing administrator. But there's the same lack of direction and planning. Even if the NHA were anxious to do a good job, it would be completely hampered by the "business-as-usual" framework set up by the House of Representatives' Public Buildings and Grounds Committee, which has embodied that framework in the Lanham act, the law that determines public housing policy. In addition, NHA has been held back by the War Production Board's failure to recognize the necessity of war housing and to grant adequate priorities. The third obstruction is the absence of a clear-cut manpower program, which means in turn an absence of information as to just how many workers are required in each production area and how many will be migrants who need new homes.

The framework that Congress has established simply means that the private housing industry must build as much of the war housing as it possibly can; whatever it cannot take care of, the government may construct. But private builders who attempt to operate by traditional peacetime methods cannot provide the type of housing war workers require, and government construction has been kept to a minimum. Hence the present acute situation.

MOST of the housing policies have in effect been written by real estate interests. Congress has declared that dormitories for single men come first, since private building has no interest in this field, and NHA has been carrying out this dictum. But employment of single workers is decreasing as they are drawn into the army, whereas more and more married men with families are hired. Pressure from builders who wanted the government to erect only temporary houses that could easily be torn down, resulted in the big program for demountable houses announced last fall, projecting 112,000 prefabricated units. To date only a little over 8,000 have been constructed—it was found that the prefabricated industry had a limited capacity, that the parts would have to be shipped, placing additional loads on strained transportation facilities, and that actually little would be saved in terms of speed and money. You don't hear much about demountable houses any more!

A shortage of 6,000,000,000 board feet of lumber is expected this year because of heavy lend-lease and Army and Navy requirements. WPB issued a lumber freeze order in June which actually halted all public and private construction. Public housing is able to obtain some lumber now, but private construction is still stalled. Behind the shortage is the lumber industry's refusal to pay overtime rates and the failure to utilize the full resources of thousands of small sawmills throughout the South. You'd think that housing officials, faced with a lumber shortage, would be only too eager to look for new sources of material. Very durable houses can be made out of brick and tile—and there are more than 800 of these structural clay products plants throughout the country. The only trouble is that brick and tile are used in permanent-type dwellings, and private industry does not want the government to build permanent houses. As a result, even though the structural clay industry has pointed out that there is sufficient material on hand to build 2,000,000 homes, little attention has been paid to this substitute for lumber.

Most responsible for the present housing delay has been the chaotic priorities situation. Public and private building units have been projected, contracts let out, workers ready to begin, and NHA has sent to WPB the list of materials needed—but then WPB would not grant the priorities to obtain the materials. It was estimated that project orders for close to 100,000 units

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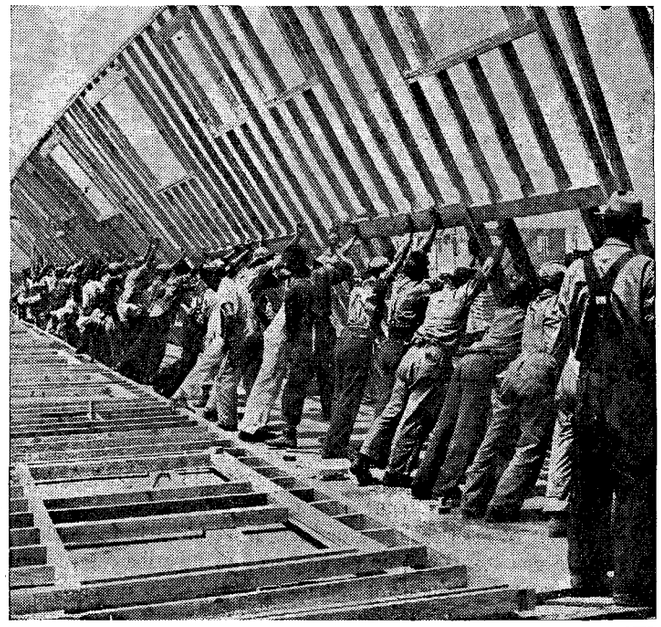
piled up on the desks of the WPB Construction Division in New York for months in the early part of this year because WPB could not make up its mind to grant priorities. A housing official told me the trouble was that "housing is still considered a civilian need." William L. Batt, one of the top officials at WPB, admitted as much when he told a congressional committee: "I think the housing thing, with many of us, was a secondary consideration." Because of the low priority rating given housing until recently, both the government and private builders have had great difficulty getting supplies. A situation like this encourages manipulation by private contractors. The Tolan committee estimated that about 7,000,000 tons of steel went into non-essential construction during 1941, and reported that contractors engaged in scandalous black market operations in critical materials. In April of this year WPB ruled that no priorities could be granted for non-essential construction, but Abner Ferguson, federal housing administrator, who regulates private building, admitted that the NHA officials "with some justice" have "complained that they haven't been able to get priorities as quickly as private builders."

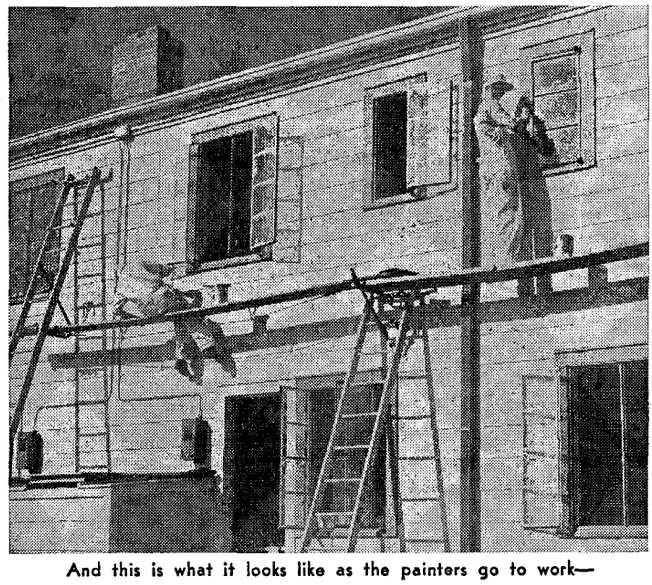
JOHN B. BLANDFORD, national housing administrator, recently stated to Congress that at last WPB had recognized the importance of housing and had promised that allocations of materials for housing would go side by side with allocations for plants. He insisted that no backlog of project orders existed and that everything was up to date. His star exhibit was a joint WPB-NHA memorandum, dated April 15, 1942, agreeing that housing for in-migrant workers was "absolutely" essential to the war program itself and that "correspondingly, the materials for this housing must be made available." Since then WPB has issued the lumber freeze order which virtually halted construction; the NHA is still making up lists of critical materials for projects only to have WPB raise or lower them; and houses are still standing complete except for one or two materials on which WPB refuses to grant priorities. Whether or not WPB will live up to its promise that critical materials will be available for the new housing units to be built remains to be seen, but judging from past performance, one can hardly share Mr. Blandford's rosy view of the situation.

To date, WPB has granted priority for a total of 400,000 units to be constructed by private capital under Title VI of the FHA. Under this program the government insures the homes up to ninety percent of the mortgage, thus eliminating any risk for the builder. Out of the original 200,000 under construction only 70,000 have been completed so far and just about thirty percent of these houses have actually gone to war workers. Private construction has been mostly of family houses for sale in areas located too far from war plants to be of use. An escape clause permits builders to obtain priorities on the grounds that they are building for war workers, and then dispose of the houses to other persons. If a war worker does not take the house within sixty days—originally thirty days—the builder can throw it on the open market. War workers earning $30 a week simply cannot afford to buy or rent the private houses built under Title VI. Of course in some centers, like Detroit, they have been forced to buy houses because no other accommodations were available, but obviously few workers want to make long-term investments at this time, and they can hardly afford the high payments. Neither can private builders rent houses at sufficiently low rates, although they have had to be pushed into building some homes for rent rather than sale. The CIO has taken the position that all housing under Title VI, unless specifically earmarked for war workers, should be eliminated for the duration since the materials can be put to far better use by public housing. This does not mean that private builders have no place in a large scale housing program. The NHA can select the sites, determine the type and location of the houses, and assign private builders in each community—



Palmer, OWI

Raising the frame of a four-unit war workers' home at Erie, Pa.—



And this is what it looks like as the painters go to work—

Mother and son in the kitchen. War workers need more of these houses.

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thus making use of the private contractors' skill and experience.

Today, housing is basically tied up with problems of labor supply. An incident related to me by a housing official illustrates this only too well: He was all set to issue a publicity release on a new housing program for the overcrowded Buffalo, N. Y., area when he received a call to hold everything. The state director of manpower was visiting the area in order to speed up the war conversion of civilian industries. Naturally, if he succeeded, the transfer of the local labor supply to war jobs would cut down on the number of in-migrant workers needed and thus reduce the number of new dwellings required. So the publicity release was carefully filed away. All the work put into planning the new units in Buffalo went for nought.

The additional $600,000,000 housing appropriation just granted by Congress is intended to house 1,600,000 war workers who are expected to migrate into war production centers by the summer of 1943, according to the War Manpower Commission. Although an increase of 12,000,000 war workers is predicted in this period, the greater number will be transferred over from non-war jobs and recruited among women, youth, and Negroes. WMC admits their estimate of in-migrant workers is conservative. The AFL estimates at least 2,500,000 and there is every reason to believe its prediction is more accurate. NHA calculates that the 1,600,000 migrants for whom it must provide housing shape up as follows: 550,000 single men, including family men coming in without their families, 525,000 workers coming in as part of two-person families, and 525,000 workers expected to migrate with families of three or more.

For these migrants, NHA estimates that 1,320,000 accommodations are needed, since in many cases two workers are recruited from one family when the wife works. It plans to provide 650,000 units in existing structures, which will probably fall far short. The program calls for 670,000 new units. Government-built dormitories and dormitory apartments account for 195,000, and out of the 475,000 family accommodations planned, 270,000 are expected to be built by private construction, the remainder by the government.

The greatest shortage occurs in family dwelling units, and here the planlessness is most glaring. Family dwelling units constitute only thirty-two percent of the new program, as contrasted with eighty-three percent under the old plan. Even the Manpower Commission has warned that the estimates of single workers are too high and the estimates of family workers correspondingly low.

The official attitude is to encourage married men to migrate without their families, although the war workers' morale, health, and productive capacity decline when they are separated from normal family life. Plant managers and union officials have pointed out that the major factor in the high turnover of labor is the inability of married men to locate dwellings for their families. But since real estate interests are opposed to the government's building family units, which they consider their exclusive field, NHA is forging ahead on a program which does not fit the present needs.

The critical rubber shortage has further aggravated the housing situation. At the present time thousands of workers are spending four and five hours each day traveling on crowded roads, using up energy that could be better employed on the production line. In addition, plants like the Ford bomber factory, located thirty-four miles from Detroit, are experiencing difficulty in securing workers. It is now too late to do anything about the lack of planning in the location of plant sites. The job is to provide housing within walking distance of the plants as quickly and efficiently as possible.

With thousands and thousands of workers now facing the coming of winter in flimsy tents and shacks, speed in erecting new houses becomes the first consideration. In light of this situation, the United Automobile Workers, CIO, which has been in the forefront of the battle for better housing, has revised its stand that the main direction of the government's building should be toward permanent-type family dwellings. The UAW has come out for temporary structures on the grounds that they use less critical materials and take less time to build. A temporary family dwelling uses up 2,000 pounds of critical materials compared to the pre-war permanent structures built by the government which consumed 9,700 pounds.

What is needed first is an over-all manpower plan to make sure that every available man and woman in each community is utilized in war production, in order to minimize in-migration. Full utilization of all existing housing facilities should be undertaken. The NHA plan for a homes-registration office in each war production area, to encourage people to take a "war guest" into their homes, is a good idea. The CIO has recommended the establishment of a Building Materials Allocations Board, with equal representation of labor and government, to see that no critical materials are assigned to non-essential construction. Labor has also demanded that government housing be mainly directed toward family units and that additional bedrooms might be added at little extra cost to house single workers, thus eliminating the need for dormitories. Trade union housing experts have also pointed out that at least another $500,000,000 must be appropriated to meet the need for new homes.

The AFL and the CIO have both made splendid housing proposals to Congress, but they have not been granted any representation on national housing committees, nor has any serious attention been given their plans. Labor has not pushed aggressively enough in local areas for adoption of its program. The CIO recommends that the local housing authorities, which carried on the good work of the USHA, be given the main responsibility for construction of homes in war production areas and that labor be accorded full representations on these boards. Certainly those closest to the workers should have an opportunity to share in planning the homes that are needed. They look at housing today with clear eyes from the viewpoint of how it can help win the war, how we can prevent production from bogging down because workers have no place to sleep. They realize that housing today means guns, tanks, and planes.

Eva Lapin.

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COUNCILMAN POWELL OF HARLEM

Big, aggressive, handsome—New York's first Negro representative to City Hall is a leading crusader for his people's rights. "Action . . . deeds." A profile by Richard O. Boyer.

RICHARD O. BOYER is a native of Chicago. He has been a reporter for the St. Louis "Post Dispatch," the Dallas "Times Herald," the Boston "Herald," and the New York "Herald Tribune." After working as a correspondent for "PM" in Germany and Central America, he became the editor of the "U. S. Week." He was one of the organizers of the Boston Newspaper Guild and a former member of its executive committee. At present he is on the staff of the "New Yorker."

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., handsome as a fashion plate, burly as a longshoreman, and with something of the sophisticated suavity of a movie star, is a new and different kind of leader of the American Negro people. There are Negroes who don't like him but they follow him anyway. They have to because he is usually right on the great issues of the day.

The first Negro councilman in the history of New York City is as modern as swing and the tempo and manner of his days suggest something of this syncopation. There's a hard, quick brilliance to all his actions and he prides himself on his swift executive efficiency. He has half a dozen jobs and half a dozen roles, ranging from insurance executive to spiritual adviser, and he slips out of one and into another with an amazing fluidity. The pressure of his work is such that even when he travels he takes a dictaphone along and murmurs eloquent periods into the mouthpiece while his train rattles over the countryside. As he sits behind his chauffeur on the way from the City Hall to Harlem he goes over his mail and performs other chores usually reserved for the office by less active men.

He's smart, using the adjective as style experts employ it, and he wears his tweeds with a certain careless distinction. He's six feet, two inches in height, weighs 210 pounds and is thirty-four years old. There are moments when he resembles a jaunty, young professor, extremely popular with his students at a state university. He can do easy and casual things with a cigarette or pipe, getting the best effects out of them as does an actor on the stage. He's a preacher but he's no old-fashioned hallelujah shouter. He's the leader of religion "seven days a week" as opposed to the school which he charges is for Christianity on Sunday only. He's a politician and a good one, as is attested by the growing number of white politicians who seek his help in impressing the Harlem electorate. He's an orator, even a spellbinder, and there are few practitioners today who can hold an audience as well as he. He's an editor, and a skillful one, and as he lolls back in a swivel chair and dictates diatribes against the evils of his time, few are enjoying themselves as much as Adam Clayton Powell.

Perhaps it's this quality of enjoying himself which disturbs those who feel that one who fights for the right should be dour. Dr. Powell doesn't look like a reformer, or talk like a reformer, but he does act like one. There's a tingling energy to all his movements and perhaps it is a degree too vibrant to comfort those who believe that virtue should be solemn. Dr. Powell admits that there are a few who are a little discomfited by his modernity, and asks only that he be judged on his record. Day in and day out, in press and pulpit, he calls for Negro support of the war, declares it is a people's war, insists that in supporting it and fighting it the Negro people can gain substantial benefits. Day in and day out he calls for a second front, demands independence for India, attacks Dies and the poll tax, fights against discrimination, and fights for full equality of opportunity for the Negro in all aspects of American life. He is very American. This is one of the reasons for his success. He voices a program that some would call radical, but he voices it in such sound Americanese that it is conservative and natural to those who hear it. He is never sectarian, never complex, never ponderous. In his most serious fight it's always evident that he's having a fine time. Radicals could learn much not only from Adam Clayton Powell, but from his weekly newspaper, the *People's Voice.*

I VISITED him one afternoon not long ago at the great Gothic mass of jagged stone that is the Abyssinian Baptist Church of which he is pastor, as was his father before him. It's a Powell institution in a way, for it was built by the elder Powell and the New York blue stone of which it is constructed came right out of the foundations, or at least part of it did. This church has 10,000 members, the largest membership of any Protestant church in the world. And since most of them worship their dynamic young pastor they are the primary source of his strength both politically and spiritually. Through them he has 10,000 impassioned advocates. They form the nucleus of the half-dozen organizations he heads, including the The Coordinating Committee for Employment, an organization which has obtained thousands of jobs for Harlem Negroes.

The Abyssinian Baptist Church, which is at 132 West 138th St., is as modern as its pastor. The practical religion of both is symbolized by the selling of cheap milk on the steps of the church to those who otherwise could not afford to buy it. The church has a huge class in adult education, a gymnasium, a youth program, a medical program, a nursery, and a social service staff, and maintains a camp, twenty club rooms, a cooperative workshop, and a program for the aged. The budget for the church runs to $75,000 yearly.

The long, dark corridor leading to Dr. Powell's office was lined with people waiting for his advice and help when I interviewed him. When I entered his study he was bent over his desk, an unlighted pipe clutched between strong white teeth, making corrections on some copy which I afterwards learned was his column in the *People's Voice,* called "The Soap Box."

Now and again as he read his copy he chortled happily. It was clear that he found it entertaining. It was about Martin Dies. Dr. Powell suddenly looked up, leaned back in a creaky swivel chair, and said, "Listen to this: 'Dies has already fame as an international jackass but today, with your kind permission, let us omit the 'jack.'" Dr. Powell slapped his thigh and laughed. He continued, "'We demand that Congress impeach him, that the FBI investigate him, and the President of the United States have him arrested immediately as an enemy agent.'" Again Dr. Powell slapped his thigh and laughed. "If they do that," he said happily, "there won't be much left of Dies."

As we talked, secretaries hustled in and out of the room. They shoved papers before their pastor and he would take a swift look at them, make a correction, hand the paper back, and resume talking. He had six pencils on his desk, each with a different colored lead. Every color, I found, had a meaning all its own but it was a secret between Dr. Powell and his secretaries. Also on his desk was a rack of pipes, including a

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sequence of Meerschaums and a Calabash which seemed to be the doctor's favorite. At any rate he picked it up and throughout our interview he gestured with it, sometimes holding the bowl in his hand and pushing the stem towards me, sometimes gripping the pipe with both hands and pushing it forward as he emphasized a point. His answers were swift, pert, and pointed and he was a master of the unexpected. For example, I asked him how a United Nations victory would help the American Negro people and he said, "It won't help the American Negro people at all"—he paused for a moment and seemed to savor my surprise, then went on—"unless they are a part of that victory. If they are a part of it they will make immense gains. If the war is fought in the only way it can be fought if it's to be won, the Negro people will receive a constant increase in participation in American life and in the democratic rights that are legally and rightfully theirs."

HE SPOKE casually, calmly, almost professorially, and his voice flowed evenly on through a number of interruptions by his secretaries. He continued signing papers as he spoke and sometimes he answered my questions so swiftly that he gave the impression of throwing an answer back before it was well completed.

"What will it mean to the Negro people if Hitler wins?"

"It will mean their complete reenslavement." I waited for a moment but he apparently saw no reason for elaboration.

"In what way do you think freedom for India would help the Negro people?"

"It wouldn't help them at all," he said and again he paused before continuing, "except as such freedom would help all minority groups."

"How can the American Negro people be convinced this is a war for democracy?"

The telephone on his desk rang, he swung forward in his chair, lifted the receiver, and without answering the phone, went about his reply to my question. "By action. By deeds. In no other way. The main thing the American Negro wants is equality of opportunity. He wants the abolition of the poll tax. He wants lynching made a federal crime. He wants the abolition of discrimination in war industry but above all in the armed forces of the nation." Only now did he speak into the phone and with a few business-like sentences he terminated the call and swung back in his chair, his broad shoulders almost touching the wall behind his desk.

"The fight for Negro rights," he resumed, "is making headway because this is a progressive, people's war. There's more concern with the problem of the Negro now than at any time since Reconstruction. But this war is different from the Civil War. Then Frederick Douglass expressed the position of the Negro people by crying 'Men of color, to arms!' He said the stakes were so high, the gains to be won so immense, that it was no time for criticism. But now, now, this is a time for constant criticism." He held his pipe in both hands and gestured toward me. "This is a time for constant criticism," he repeated. "We can't win this war, or at the very least we can't win a peace that will make the war worth fighting, unless the war is fought democratically. And that takes constant criticism, constant fighting for democracy and the rights of the Negro."

"Could the war be won without the whole-hearted cooperation of the Negro people?"

He was silent for a moment, with a sort of admirable aplomb, filled his pipe with tobacco and lighted it with the deliberation of one performing a solemn ceremony. He took a few quick puffs, then said, "You might win the war without the Negro people, but you can't win the peace. The treatment of the Negro people is the yardstick of democracy. Their treatment is a sure sign of whether or not this war is on the level. If the Negro people lose out, labor will lose out, anti-Semitism will grow, and victory over Hitler will be a victory for American fascists. To avoid a merely formal victory over Hitler, one in which reactionary elements in American life are strengthened, the Negro people must receive their rights as an integral part of fighting the war."

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.—"He is never sectarian, never complex, never ponderous."

AS WE continued it became apparent that Dr. Powell is a product of the Abyssinian Baptist Church to an astonishing degree. He was almost literally brought up in it. He lived in it as a child while his father was pastor. Although he was born in New Haven in 1908 he moved to New York as a boy when his father became pastor of the church, which was then on West Fortieth Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues, about where the *Herald Tribune* is now. It was a tough neighborhood and because it was, respectable little boys were encouraged to keep off the street. So Adam spent most of Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, as well as Sunday, in the confines of the church.

He was assistant pastor before he became head of his congregation in 1930. If there's any trade secret within the ecclesiastical profession that Dr. Powell doesn't know it's one exceedingly obscure. Before assuming the assistant pastorship, young Powell was graduated from Colgate in 1928 and then spent a year in travel in Europe and Africa. In attempting to describe the genesis of his present progressive views Dr. Powell is inclined to attribute them to the oppression of colonial peoples which he witnessed while traveling in Africa. Yet, even more important in his development, he feels, was the fight he waged against his father and the elders of his church to marry Isabel Washington, a lovely and talented actress. It revealed to him, he says, the unreasonable formalism of elements in the Baptist Church, and in standing alone on this matter he learned to stand alone on other things he felt important.

Dr. Powell spoke of his paper, the *People's Voice*.

"It is really extraordinarily good," I said. "How do you give it such variety? It's crusading and tough and yet it's filled with news and drama and radio. It's an extraordinary combination."

"It's just me," said Dr. Powell happily. "It's just a reflection of me. That's the way I am. I'm interested in the theater and in books and in sports and in religion and in the great questions of the day. The paper reflects that."

If Dr. Powell looks on his life and work and finds them good, he has every reason to. If he regards the future with a satisfied confidence, he has every cause for that, too. He is frank in declaring that he would like to go to Congress and after that—who knows? If the people remain his strength, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., is only at the beginning of his career.

RICHARD O. BOYER.

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ON THE EVE OF ELECTIONS

A victory policy is the issue. At stake is America itself. In New York Amter and his running mates represent the most consistent win-the-war program. An editorial.

NEXT Tuesday millions of Americans will go to the polls to elect a new House of Representatives, one-third of the Senate, and a large number of state officials. In any ordinary time a national election is an event of first-rate importance. This is, however, no ordinary time, but a time of crisis and bitter war when our national existence and independence are threatened as they have not been since the Civil War. The election is itself part of this war for survival. And behind the personalities, parties, and platforms what is at issue is: shall America, which must play so decisive a role in the smashing of the Axis, have a Congress and state governments that do everything in their power to develop all-out offensive action against the enemy, or shall the full realization of our military potential continue to be hobbled by half measures, obstructionism, and outright appeasement and defeatism? The way we answer this question is going to help decide the larger question of whether America continues to live as a free nation.

The results of the primaries showed to what extent the defeatists and politics-as-usual reactionaries have been permitted to obscure the central issue and gamble with the country's welfare. Too many of the supporters of President Roosevelt's policies have pulled punches and have waged campaigns around the issues of 1938 instead of around such urgent 1942 issues as an immediate second front, the centralized planning of our war economy, and other measures essential for winning the war.

BESIDES the congressional elections, there are a number of state contests that are of vital importance. In California and Minnesota, where pro-war governors, the Democrat Olson and the Republican Stassen, respectively, are opposed by reactionary defeatists; in Ohio, where the Republican governor, Bricker, who is linked to the machine of one of the worst appeasers in Congress, Senator Taft, is being challenged by a win-the-war Democrat, McSweeney; in Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, and elsewhere state battles are assuming national significance.

In New York the problem from the beginning was one of uniting the win-the-war forces, represented by the majority of the Democratic Party, the American Labor Party and the Communist Party, behind a gubernatorial candidate committed unreservedly to the support of the President's program. Unfortunately the Democratic leaders, by their vacillation and reluctance to take up the challenge of the appeasement elements who sought to dominate their party, permitted these elements to dictate the nomination of John J. Bennett. At the same time the appeasers, using the Republican Party as their chief vehicle, captured the GOP designation for the favorite of Herbert Hoover and the New York *Daily News,* Thomas E. Dewey.

Both the American Labor Party and the Communist Party quite properly decided that the only real alternative was to give the voters an opportunity to vote for governor outside the columns of the two major parties. The failure of the right wing group in control of the ALP to broaden the leadership in order to include the basic trade unions and other progressive elements, and their persistent evasion of the central issue of the second front, caused the Communists, in order to guarantee an aggressive campaign in behalf of a victory program, to name their own gubernatorial candidate, Israel Amter. At the same time the Communists withdrew the rest of their state nominees to make possible unity around such excellent men as Charles Poletti for lieutenant-governor, Henry Epstein for attorney general, and Joseph V. O'Leary for controller.

IN ESTIMATING the candidates one must look beneath the surface to find the forces that are working through them. The lacquered Dewey is only a front for the concentration of those sinister influences in the state and nation that stand for negotiated peace and are the chief obstacle in this country to the unfolding of a decisive Allied offensive in Europe. When Dewey declared in his acceptance speech that the war was not an issue, he was seeking to avoid too close scrutiny of his own record, of his repeated double-talk on the war, of his speech of Jan. 20, 1940, in which he opposed collaboration with Russia and even denounced the administration for having recognized the USSR.

Nor does Jim Farley's Bennett, around whose retinue clings the odor of the Christian Front, offer a genuine alternative to Dewey.

Israel Amter, the Communist Party's candidate for governor of New York.

President Roosevelt's endorsement of Bennett can be explained—though not justified—by considerations of party regularity, but there is nothing in Bennett's record and associations to merit any confidence on the part of the voters.

Only Dean Alfange, the Labor Party candidate, and Amter have expressed the nonpartisan win-the-war spirit of the vast majority of the voters. In the case of Alfange, however, his approach to the war has been too general. On the advice of the ALP high command he has refrained, except on one occasion, from coming out for the second front; and he has concerned himself too much with postwar questions and not enough with the problems of winning the war.

It goes without saying that in New York the only clearcut, hard-hitting campaign has been waged by the Communist candidates, Israel Amter for governor, and Benjamin Davis, Jr., and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for congressmen-at-large. Under the slogan of "Not an idle man, not an idle machine, not an idle acre" they have brought before hundreds of thousands of voters the paramount issues of the second front and the full organization of the state's resources for a determined offensive against the Axis. The Communist candidates appear on the ballot on row E.

There are compelling reasons for voting for Alfange or Amter, preferably the latter. Whether Dewey or Bennett wins, the larger the vote of the successful candidate, the less responsive he is likely to be to the wishes of the electorate. On the other hand, a large win-the-war vote for Alfange and Amter is bound to exert influence on the next governor, no matter who he is. And should reaction's chief candidate, Dewey, be victorious, this win-the-war vote, thrown behind Poletti, Epstein, and O'Leary, may confront Dewey with a cabinet such as he had not bargained for.

This vote of the most advanced and clear-sighted citizens of the state can also be instrumental in sweeping out defeatist congressmen and members of the state legislature like Ham Fish and Frederick R. Coudert, Jr. The fight against the latter, whose Vichy connections and Red-baiting proclivities have made him a stench in the nostrils of all decent men and women, has assumed national proportions. His opponent, Jerry Finkelstein, is being supported not only by the Democratic Party, the ALP, and the labor movement, but by pro-war Republicans and other enlightened voters.

Whatever happens nationally and in the various states next Tuesday, let it be remembered that this election campaign has provided an opportunity for educating and organizing the people in behalf of those policies which alone can guarantee victory in the war. November 3 is a beginning, not an end.

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Storm Over Guadalcanal

AS WE went to press this week, communiques from the Pacific indicated that the long-brewing storm had finally broken over our positions in the Solomons. Full scale combat has begun. Japanese infantry, supported by tanks, attacked the western defenses of Guadalcanal five times in one day: had been repulsed by our hard-fighting marines five times. It was impossible to gauge the relationship of land and sea forces, although it appears that our aerial strength locally, equals, or perhaps even betters, that of the enemy. American bombers and fighters, fanning out from the Guadalcanal airfield, continue to slam away at Japanese ships, damaging five warships and three merchant vessels and sinking a battleship in three days' operations. The land fighting which started Friday, October 23, was preceded by an aerial attack during which our Grumman Wildcats destroyed an entire fighter escort of twenty Zeroes. Supporting aerial action is reported from General MacArthur's headquarters; Flying Fortresses struck at the harbor of Rabaul, New Britain, damaged or destroyed some 100,000 tons of enemy shipping.

But the degree of our air superiority over Guadalcanal is evidently insufficient to keep the Japanese landing forces from the island. Enemy manpower, artillery, tanks continue to pour in. Their immediate objectives are Henderson Field, on the island, and the deep harbor at Tulagi. If the Japanese force these objectives they gain new roads for an offensive against American supply lines to Australia. Evidently our positions in the Solomons are in grave danger.

Responsibility for this situation seems to have fallen upon Vice-Adm. Robert Lee Ghormley who has been replaced by Vice-Adm. William F. Halsey, Jr. The success of our original offensive action some weeks ago, resulting in partial occupation of the strategic island in the Solomons, has been threatened by failure to follow through. Charges have been made that Admiral Ghormley neglected to coordinate what attacks were made, failed to strengthen our naval force, and depended unduly upon our defensive positions. Thus a campaign which had promised to develop into an extended offensive was reduced to a defensive operation. Once again, evidently, the curse of defensive thinking has militated against our success: it is the same blight which holds up the decisive strategy of this war—the opening of a second land front on the continent of Europe. Americans hope that the replacement of all defensive-minded military men by genuine exponents of the offensive, will be hastened.

Chile's Cabinet

THE struggle in Chile between the pro-Axis minority and the majority of the people who favor a break with the Axis has resulted in a reorganization of the Cabinet. The Cabinet crisis was precipitated by the speech of Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles on October 8 in which, without mentioning them by name, he charged that Chile and Argentina were permitting Axis agents to operate on their soil in order to attack the United Nations. This was immediately protested by the Chilean government, and Pres. Juan Antonio Rios postponed plans to visit President Roosevelt. Last week the Cabinet dominated by the pro-Axis Foreign Minister, Ernesto Barros Jarpa, resigned.

The ousting of Jarpa undoubtedly represents a victory for the truly national, patriotic majority in Chile. However, first reports that the new Cabinet represents a clearcut anti-Axis orientation appear to have been wishful. It is on the whole a right wing Cabinet, in which several followers of Gen. Carlos Ibanez, the Nazi-supported candidate for president in 1938, have strong positions. Just what role the new Foreign Minister, Joaquin Fernandez y Fernandez, will play remains to be seen. On his way from Montevideo, Uruguay, where he had been Chilean ambassador, he stopped off at Buenos Aires and was immediately taken in tow by the Argentinian Foreign Minister, Enrique Ruiz Guinazu, who took advantage of the occasion to make a speech justifying his government's pro-Axis "neutrality." The stopover in Buenos Aires was hardly an auspicious way for Fernandez to inaugurate his assumption of the direction of Chile's foreign affairs.

The patriotic forces in Chile are demanding a new Cabinet of national unity that will break completely with the Axis and collaborate closely with the eighteen other Latin American republics that have already taken this course, with the United States and with the other members of the United Nations. It is felt that the present policy of benevolent neutrality toward the United Nations is inadequate to defend Chile and plays into the hands of her enemies. President Rios who, unlike President Castillo of Argentina, has never favored the Axis, is being urged to move in this direction.

Pass It Now

IT IS good to read in some press dispatches from Washington that there is a heavy increase of mail from people demanding passage of the Pepper-Geyer bill to abolish the poll tax in federal elections. Such demands count now more than ever. At this writing, the Senate Judiciary Committee has reported out the bill with a thirteen-to-five vote in its favor. The vote was a defeat for those committee members who had tried all stalling devices at hand. But there may be stalling in the Senate itself—there are even rumors still of a filibuster by the frustrated, desperate polltaxers. Since the form of the bill has been changed from that passed by the House, polltaxers in that body may attempt to refer it back to the Judiciary Committee for another long burial. The danger is all the more acute in that only two months remain of the congressional session. We won't reiterate here the many reasons why passage of this bill is urgent, vitally urgent to victory in the war. The emphasis now should be on practical action to ensure that passage; on doubling and tripling the pressure which has brought the bill this far through Congress.

The Festus Coleman Case

THERE'S a certain regional division of labor among lynchers: in the South they use the rope, in the North they use the courts. An instance of the latter method is the case of Festus Coleman. Some sixteen months ago Coleman, a Negro worker on WPA, stood "trial" in a San Francisco court on charges of rape and robbery. There were no Negroes on the jury; in fact, Coleman was the only Negro permitted in the courtroom. He was represented by an incompetent and, it later turned out, dishonest lawyer. The judge, who has since died, was known for his anti-Negro prejudices. Within two days the jury brought in a "guilty" verdict and the judge pronounced sentence: sixty-five years in prison.

What had Festus Coleman done? Strolling in a San Francisco park one night, he had come across a white army lieutenant making love to a girl. Angered by the fact that the Negro had stumbled onto the scene, the lieutenant insulted Coleman and then beat him with the aid of a friend, another lieutenant. They then dragged him off to a police station and told a penny-thriller story about masks,

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obbery, and attempted rape. No evidence of robbery, no mask were found on Coleman but the lieutenants went back to the scene of the beating and "found" the evidence themselves. Coleman has been in prison since.

However, the case has not rested there. As in the Scottsboro frameup, protests, demands for a fair trial have come even from the South, as far as Florida. It is significant that Atty. Gen. Earl Warren of California, Hoover-minded candidate for governor, attempted to whitewash the Coleman trial. The defeatist forces, North and South, know the uses of Jim Crow in planting racial antagonisms and weakening morale. It is in Governor Olson's power to liberate Coleman. To do so, we feel, would greatly strengthen his candidacy for reelection. More important, it would open a cell in San Quentin, releasing an innocent citizen and serving notice that the fight against Hitler goes on along all fronts. We ask our readers to wire Governor Olson, urging him to free Festus Coleman at once.

Information and Morale

FROM time to time, the public has been given the impression that there are rifts among the various war information services, specifically the War and Navy public relations departments and the Office of War Information. The problem of adequate information on the war is obviously a complex one. The staffs of the armed services are in the best position to know what specific items will be of possible value to the enemy. At the same time the civilian authorities may be in closer touch with the requirements of public morale, which is sustained by frank and timely news that will not aid the enemy. Over-caution may be self-defeating if it gives rise to false rumors and if, by unnecessarily withholding news, it tends to undermine public confidence. And, at the opposite pole, lack of discretion may play into the enemy's hands.

The OWI's recent report on the quality of American aircraft strikes us as an example of prudent forthrightness which the country needs. It is factual and convincing; it elevates morale at home; and it gives no comfort to the enemy. Less fortunate was the controversy aroused last week over the withholding of certain information regarding the raid over Tokyo some months ago. The New York newspaper *PM*, a staunch supporter of the war effort, went too far in citing this incident among others as evidence that the Army is "deceiving" the public. Actually the OWI, which *PM* desires to take over Army public relations, has associated itself with the Army in this matter and takes full responsibility for the news policy on the Tokyo raid.

Nevertheless, it is clear that a firmer integration of the nation's information services would do much to clear the air. This integration can take place only on the basis of a more cohesive news policy to be worked out jointly by the Army, the Navy, and the OWI. The public has a right to know what general principles guide the release of news. It is altogether willing to abide by the military necessities as determined by the military authorities. At the same time it seeks assurance that the enemy suffers from the censorship of specific items rather than the public itself.

The Tolan Report

THE Tolan committee's sixth interim report dealing with "Changes Needed for Effective Mobilization of Manpower" is the first considered and comprehensive review of the present status of our economy to come out of Washington. For the Tolan committee sees the manpower question not as an isolated problem to be solved by edict, but rather as an integral part of the immense task of transforming the nation's economy to meet the needs of total war.

The essential agreement between the committee's conclusions and those reached by Earl Browder in his remarkable address "The Economics of All-Out War" stems from the fact that both view the country's economy as a whole rather than approaching it piecemeal. What Mr. Browder pointed out two months ago, the committee now affirms. Without consistent and painstaking planning, the nation's economy increasingly deteriorates into chaos, with the danger of collapse threatening our security. The report declares: "In the absence of a program of production and an organization to coordinate it, we have today only a series of individual competing production agencies. At virtually every point where coordination and planning should be exercised, we find competition and maneuvering. . . . The bare outlines for a national war production program have not yet begun to appear. As long as we have no national program, the complexities of detail will be insurmountable."

In its investigation of the manpower crisis, the committee rejected the usual attitude of concentrating all attention solely on the question of distributing the population between the armed services and industry. Because, as the report points out, the size of the armed forces bears a direct relation to production capacity. "Every man withdrawn to the armed forces from war production needs a replacement, and as a soldier he creates automatically a need for more weapons and more goods so that we shall need more than one replacement for every such soldier." To date, the usual procedure has been to form an army and to expand production as though each function were autonomous, unaffected by the other. But an army can't just be built in a vacuum. There must be definite knowledge of how large an army is planned, so that manpower withdrawals from industry can be anticipated and provision made to replace those who leave. There must be, as well, definite knowledge of productive capacity, of available machinery and what this machinery can do, of raw material resources, of the minimum needs of the civilian economy, of lend-lease requirements.

THERE can be only agreement with the main thesis of the Tolan committee—the necessity for over-all planning. As a result of the committee's report, legislation has been introduced in the House and Senate to coordinate the entire production program—contract supervision, manpower and material allocation, price control, and other necessary economic adjustments and regulations. The new setup would include a policy committee to achieve over-all planning and the most efficient use of all resources, human as well as material. Whether the proposed creation of an Office of War Mobilization is the most effective means of achieving a coordinated war economy is not for the moment the central question. What is paramount is the understanding that present anarchistic procedures imperil the war effort. Reorganization, from top to bottom, of the war agencies is imperative.

The committee's findings demand study—and action. As Rep. George H. Bender points out in his additional comment on the report: "Since the winter of 1941 it has been clear to every Main Street American that what is needed is a second front in Europe to split Axis forces. Spring, summer, and fall have come and gone without a second front." And Representative Bender places the blame for confusion in our economy on "Our military [who] have never decided when, where, and with what they are going to fight. For this reason, they have not and cannot give to the War Production Board and to the War Manpower Commission, respectively, schedules of their requirements for military products and manpower. Without these schedules, it has been impossible to plan production, to allocate materials and manpower. And because we have not planned the elements of production, we cannot manage or control the flow of armament. Without such scheduled flow of weapons, the military cannot undertake to plan its strategy."

Thus, on the efficiency of our economy depends to a great extent the drive for victory over the Axis.

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TYPEWRITERS WITHOUT GENERALS

In a war where ideas are weapons, our propaganda has still not taken to the offensive. The strange sensibilities of the Hays office. Morale is no lipstick.

THE old English proverb says that a lie gets halfway around the world before truth gets her shoes on. We live in speedier times. In the age of wireless, a lie sometimes gets all the way around the world and back while truth is still fumbling for the shoehorn. That, at least, is Goebbels' faith. And too often it has worked.

Since 1933 the strategy of lying has had many successes. It would be folly to deny them. It would be even greater folly to emulate them. Even with decades of painstaking practice, we should not be able to cope with the Nazis. When it comes to lying, they are truly invincible.

Our weapon is truth. It is, potentially, the mightier weapon. If, in the past nine years, it has seemed rusty and dull, that is the fault not of the instrument but its users. It is a naive conviction that in the long run truth will prevail, inevitably, automatically. It can be a suicidal conviction. And yet this belief in the spontaneous, automatic triumph of truth underlies some of our defeats in the propaganda war with fascism.

Even at this late hour, there is a tendency to steer away not only from the term "propaganda" but from that militant, offensive, tactically shrewd propagation of beliefs and emotional attitudes which the term designates. We are all for facts and figures, for "information." But facts and figures must be swift as lightning to outpace the Axis frauds and fantasies, and they must be loud as thunder to be heard above the din set up by the enemy. In a radio broadcast last spring Elmer Davis said: "There are perhaps some people in the administration who dislike propaganda, at least if you call it propaganda, but the enemy is using it very effectively. To refuse to use it against him makes about as much sense as refusing to shoot at the enemy for fear you might hurt him. . . . This country would never have won its freedom if Sam Adams and Patrick Henry and Benjamin Franklin had not used propaganda; we wouldn't have the Constitution if Alexander Hamilton and James Madison had not written in the *Federalist* some of the best propaganda ever turned out in this or any other country." Despite certain genuine shortcomings, there have been increasing signs that the Office of War Information, under Elmer Davis' direction, is operating on this affirmative principle.

But there are publicity agencies in this country that are far more backward than they have any right to be in this respect. It is natural that there should be disagreement on specific techniques of propaganda, specific channels of distribution, details of timing, and so on. But there is no excuse for disagreement over the main objectives and the emotional intensity which the times require. Our propaganda must go on the offensive: too much time in the past has been spent in defensively "analyzing" the enemy's propaganda, instead of carrying the fight to him. And our propaganda must become surcharged with feeling: we have, for example, been studiously avoiding "atrocity" stories, and we continue to tell ourselves that we are too civilized to feel that hate and fury and burning sense of vengeance which it is actually our moral obligation to feel.

There is something altogether indecent in applying Czar Hays' "crime code" to movies dealing with the war. According to this code, every "murderer" must suffer retribution for his crime. It now appears that, if Mr. Hays has his way, films dealing with the occupied countries, for example, will be impossible. To kill a Nazi from ambush, to kill him "in cold blood" in a Norwegian town or Yugoslavian countryside is morally reprehensible according to this immoral view. The underground patriot must be sacrificed on the altar of Mr. Hays' refined sensibilities. What "retribution" this code has in store for the Nazis we do not know: perhaps remorse, a stroke of divine lightning, a "pure" railroad accident. It is fantastic that such a grave problem, so confoundedly knotty and abstruse a dilemma must actually come up for public discussion at this day, when millions are driven by hunger and cold in Europe, when Stalingrad is in the balance, when American boys are sent to ocean graves by Japanese torpedoes. This type of propaganda approach lends wings to the Nazi lie.

THE commercial approach to propaganda has hardly been a boon. By selling patriotism as if it were a new brand of soap flakes, many advertisers are cheapening our most valuable product. It is not primarily a question of bad taste, though who can deny that it is atrocious taste to place "lipsticks for beauty and victory" on the same plane as bullets and warbonds? Conveying the assurance that it is perfectly patriotic to buy girdles made of rubber, advertisers reduce the war to a salable commodity. This sort of thing gives one high pressure, but it is not Hitler who suffers so much as our own arteries.

In one specific respect, this business-as-usual is extremely pernicious. Commercial radio programs have highly elaborate taboos with regard to the treatment of Negroes. It is impermissible to address a Negro performer on the program as Mister, just as the Negro is not allowed to address white performers in familiar terms. The Negro must not be treated as a serious, mature person with the same problems that vex white people. I don't care how many times the sponsor asks us to buy bonds for victory; he is propagandizing against victory with his discriminatory stereotypes, his insulting taboos. Recently a special Negro program was broadcast by short wave to our men overseas; it was a good program, written and performed by Negroes, celebrating the contribution of the Negro people to American victory in this and other wars. I hope everyone in our armed forces heard it. But I hope just as ardently that nobody in our armed forces, nobody in China or India, listens to those commercials which week in and week out propagandize, however indirectly, against our colored citizens.

Too often a phrase or slogan is a sop to our conscience rather than an efficient propaganda device. We are beginning to hear phrases about freedom rolled out with a lubricated ease which carries no conviction. The fact is that, for our side, there is no substitute for a reasoned understanding of the actual issues of this war. And the results of our analysis must be reflected in visual, concrete terms. It will not suffice to take a poke at a Nazi now and then or to wave the flag for democracy here and there. If we know that Hitlerism is a savage beast, then let us not, in Heaven's name, discourage the artist from portraying that beast in revolting terms on the ground that people may not like to be "revolted." If, for good and sufficient reasons, we have a Fair Employment Practice Act, then let us not tolerate films and radio programs and magazine stories that, by distorting the Negro, encourage unfair practices.

FOR morale means enlightenment, not ignorance, despite the testimony of some morale "experts." Stanley Washburn wrote an article for *Public Opinion Quarterly* last year on "What Makes Morale?" that gave me the creeps. A lieutenant colonel of Reserves in the Military Intelligence Department of our Army since 1931, Washburn talks of his experiences as a correspondent in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 and as an Allied observer with the Russian armies during the last war. He cites the czarist General Brussilov's rendition of a proverb: "The pike likes

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to be cooked in butter, and the Russian peasant likes to die in battle." This is to prove that Communist ideas have "never penetrated" the minds of Russian soldiers and peasants: "In time of crisis, in battle, and in death, the human thought reverts to the instincts for centuries inbred. . . ." Not ideas, then, but some mystical hereditary instinct determines morale. But how then does Washburn account for the fact that the Russian peasant's "instinct" in 1917 was to *oppose* the war, whereas in 1942 it is to fight it with everything he has? Something new has been added to those "instincts for centuries inbred."

WASHBURN cites a wonderful example of Japanese morale in 1905. A Japanese brigade was sent forward across the Yalu River to feel out the enemy. Since the Russians had retired, this advance guard was ordered to rejoin the main army. "The common soldiers did not understand this, and assuming that they had been disgraced by turning back, more than a thousand, as I was informed, committed suicide rather than retreat. This became such a menace to the conduct of the war that the Emperor, in his capacity as the sacred symbol of the Divine Spirit, was obliged to issue a general order forbidding suicide." One would suppose that this is a supreme example of a self-defeating blind devotion. But no; episodes like this showed that "They were glad to die for the Emperor and for Japan," and "That is what is meant by morale."

If that is what is meant by morale then we are never going to have it. Glad to die for America? Yes. But intelligently, knowing why we are fighting and dying, and therefore being able to fight all the harder. Russia is not being defended, as Washburn would have us believe, by a "very simple and childlike" people, but by a citizenry that is highly conscious and cultured. It is the task of our morale propaganda to heighten our consciousness, not to depress it. This cannot be performed if we continue to hold the old "box-office" philosophy that the American people is a twelve-year-old child that isn't up to the better and deeper meanings of life, that needs to be coaxed and wheedled. It is not so much the audience that needs to be "toughened up" as a lot of the people who speak to it. In short, the main difficulty with so much of our propaganda in America is that instead of guiding and inspiring the people, it is running out of breath catching up with the people. We are brighter than we think.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

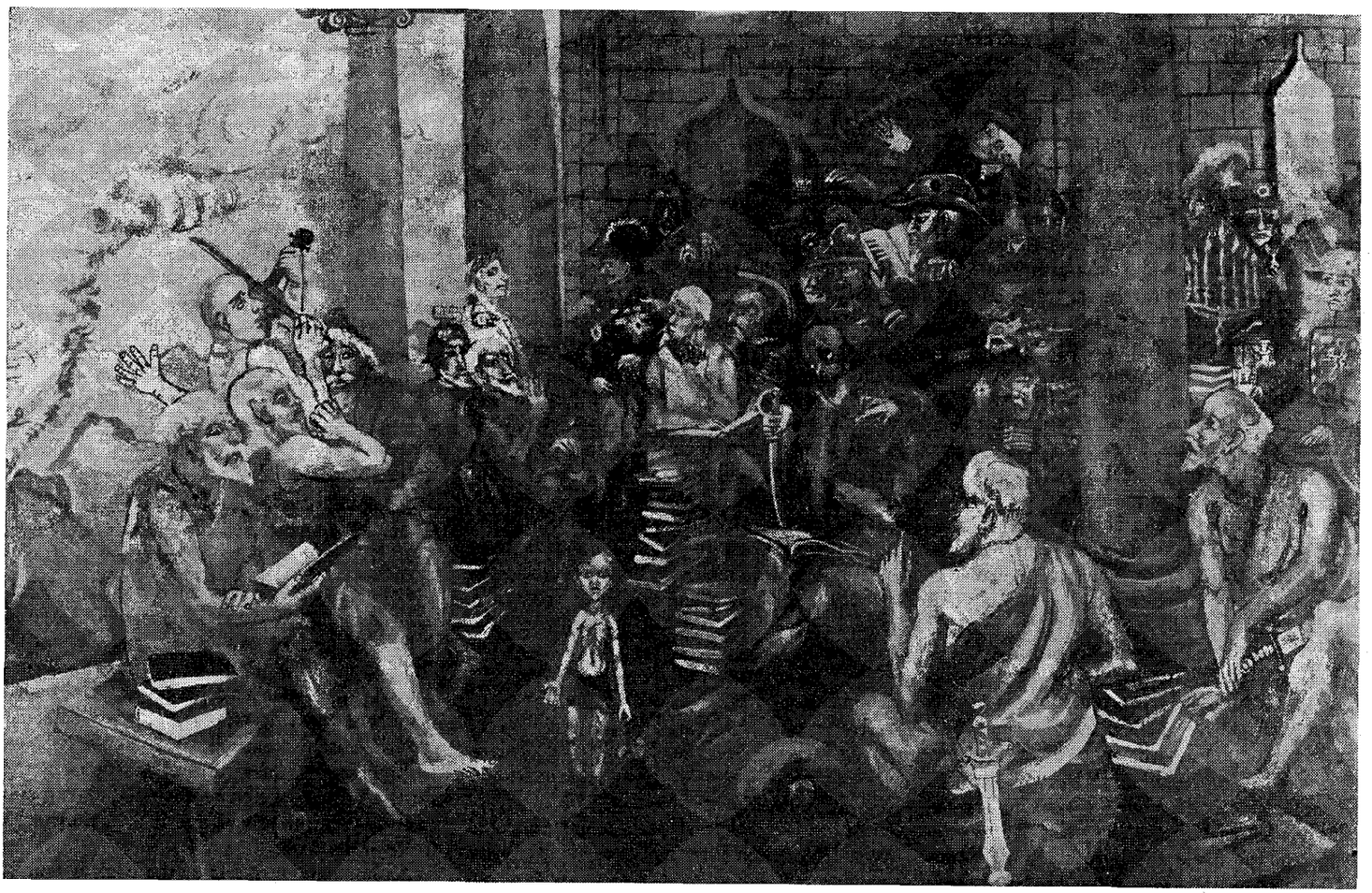
Road to Fulfillment

THE WHITE QUEEN, *by Betty Baur. Viking. $2.50.*

THIS first novel by a young American marks the emergence of a talent that may readily go far beyond its present achievement in *The White Queen.* For Miss Baur has the makings of a novelist—she can create character; she is the possessor of a sensitive and plastic prose; and the quality of her observation of people, places, and mood is unusual.

If these paragraphs premise certain reservations about the novel, those reservations should be stated. For Miss Baur has taken an important theme for her first major effort, and the measure of her success with it is the measure not only of her present achievement but of her promise for the future. Her theme is the necessity felt by so many people who spring from her heroine's class—the comfortable middle class—for an alignment, an identity that will give a measure of security, of emotional fulfillment.

Deborah, who is Miss Baur's American heroine, seems much younger to a reader than her chronological age of twenty-six. Much of her lack of emotional development can be traced directly to her background and her education. She believes she is in love with Richard, scion of the British upper class, and she



"Leave It to the Experts," by Philip Evergood. On exhibition at the ACA Galleries, 26 W. 8th St., N. Y. C.

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marries him, while only *believing* she loves him. But in her handling of the opening conflict, Miss Baur fails to carry the reader with her. We would like to know, for instance, *why* Deborah thought she was in love with Richard, married him. Given the two characters, as portrayed, the relationship seems scarcely credible and the author leaves it to the reader to take it for granted, rather than provide some background for the romance, which blossomed when the pair first met at Cambridge.

It is easier to understand, therefore, why Deborah eventually found Richard unsatisfying, than it is to understand why she thought he was the right husband for her. For Richard is stodgy, unimaginative, a dilettante—when he is not downright lazy. A good-natured fellow, easy-going, he wanted no more than to perfect his playing of Bach, and to turn the ancestral acres into a farm.

In the background of this romance stands Sam—British veteran of the International Brigade—who had fired Deborah's imagination far more than the man she eventually married. And Sam emerges from the background into the foreground as the narrative progresses. He is a symbol, the reader feels, of what Deborah—who is a thoroughly decent human being—is groping for. And it is in this fact that Sam is a symbol, and Deborah is a symbol, and Richard and his family are symbols, that most of the unsatisfying quality of the novel is to be sought.

For although Miss Baur makes these characters individually credible and ably differentiates them (strictly as human beings), she fails to make them memorable. And the reader continues to think of them as symbols rather than as human beings who may, withal, still be validly representative of their respective classes. Deborah's progress—from Richard to Sam—becomes, in the face of these facts, a naive and utterly mechanical progression. The thoughts she has are valid; the emotions Miss Baur describes (but rarely makes you feel) are sound and honest—in fact, on this score alone, it is difficult to think of many books half as honest as Miss Baur's.

But Miss Baur would be the first to agree that something more than honesty is needed; something more than felicitous prose that is highly evocative of sensual impressions. And the progression of a middle class intellectual from confusion to clarity is an immensely subtle and immensely complicated path that requires more than a simple and naive explanation—such as the difference between one potential husband and another.

This too is an oversimplification, I am aware, and somewhat unfair to what Miss Baur has attempted. But somewhere in between what the author had in mind and what she has achieved lies the root of her problem as a novelist. For she must learn to involve the reader's emotions in the lives and emotions of her characters. She must beware the danger of too naive an approach to any problem in human life; beware the danger of oversimplifying the enormously complicated motivations and impulses that operate in so objectively simple a "conversion" as the path followed by her heroine, Deborah.

From believing "sixteen impossible things before breakfast," like the White Queen of *Alice in Wonderland,* Deborah came to believe in the possible, the desirable, and the inevitable. This is a story distinctly of our time, that needs to be told us over and over again, for it points the way from death to life, from frustration to fulfillment and the future. For what she has achieved (and for what she has yet to achieve) as a novelist, Miss Baur should be read. She possesses an uncommon ear for the language, a talent rare in the most "famous" today. Hers is a fresh talent, an honest one that we need today and may readily find indispensable tomorrow.

ALVAH BESSIE.

Enemies Within

SABOTAGE, THE SECRET WAR AGAINST AMERICA, *by Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn. Harper. $2.50.*

"SABOTAGE" is an expert job of collating the material on what Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn call "the secret war against America." The authors have wisely divided their account of Axis espionage and terror into two parts: the story of physical sabotage and the story of psychological sabotage.

When it comes to arson, bombings, destruction of machinery and materiel, even to murder, the authors give the facts behind instances of destruction which definitely can be attributed to Axis agents. But they also go beyond the proven cases to suggest that frequent disasters of unknown cause are in all probability the work of Axis terrorists carefully trained to wage total war against democracy by hampering war production and undermining morale. They cite as extremely suspicious the long list of tragedies starting with the explosion at the Hercules Powder plant at Kenvil, N. J., on Sept. 12, 1940, and continuing thereafter through a series of fires, explosions, train wrecks, and other mishaps including the burning of the *Normandie* and the mysterious forest fires of the past year. While undoubtedly some of the instances cited were caused by negligence and improper safeguards, the authors convincingly argue that since 1940 the sudden increase in industrial disasters cannot be fully explained as "accidental." Certainly in the case of the *Normandie,* the logical supposition would be that saboteurs, seen hanging around the ship, had something to do with the loss of the largest transport available to the American army.

Even more important is the story of psychological sabotage which the authors correctly emphasize. Anti-Semitic, anti-Negro propaganda has been assiduously nurtured by Nazi agents hoping to spread disunity. Money from Hitler Germany has financed scores of native fascist groups, shirt organizations, and probably America First which cooperated with the Bund and became the most widespread fifth-column organization in America. All the names familiar to NEW MASSES readers appear again in *Sabotage,* with the damning facts carefully and effectively marshaled against them—Coughlin, Pelley, Kuhn, Viereck, Nye, Wheeler, Lindbergh, Generals Wood and Mosley, et al., some of them crackpots like Smythe, but most of them "respected" men, who have played the Nazi game in America for either money or political advantage or both. These enemies of the country and many others were exposed first in NEW MASSES, by John L. Spivak—although the authors of *Sabotage* credit neither this magazine nor publications like the New York *Daily Worker* and *Friday* for the original exposes of America's enemies within.

However, Messrs. Sayers and Kahn have performed a valuable service by going through the press and gathering most of the facts conveniently into one book. They have clearly and emphatically told a story that cannot be retold too often. At times, they have tended to skim over the material, neglecting much of importance which should have been included—their chapter dealing with "Sabotage by Cartel" is quite inadequate. At other times, they have glossed over certain aspects of sabotage: they do not bring out sufficiently the emphasis placed by fascist disrupters on Red-baiting and the Red scare. Martin Dies is mentioned only once in passing—surely Martin Dies is of greater value to those who have plotted against the war effort than one casual mention would indicate.

Yet *Sabotage* is a book that should be circulated widely. It is a book of warning, and it stresses the need for vigilance on the home front against the enemy, who is capable of using any weapon to destroy unity among the people. Almost the most effective section of the book is the conclusion, in which the two authors warn: "The vast and intricate apparatus of secret war cannot be smashed overnight, but inevitably it will be smashed by an American people fully aware of the character and methods of the Axis saboteurs and all who aid them in the United States." The book helps carry on the fight against the secret war—which makes it a genuine contribution to the defense of our country.

BRUCE MINTON.

Outmoded Notions

MAN'S MOST DANGEROUS MYTH: THE FALLACY OF RACE, *by M. F. Ashley Montagu. Columbia University Press. $2.25.*

THIS book deserves wide reading. With considerable clarity, vigor, and forensic skill, the author evaluates recent scientific findings on the subject of race. He demolishes not only the erroneous concepts associated with Nazi race theories, but lashes out with equal force against mistaken judgments still held by anthropologists who reject as specious the shrill German version of racism, but through their own formulations give fuel to those who incite racial hate.

An outstanding merit of the book is that it does not deal with race merely on a termino-

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logical level but recognizes that, from its origin to today, the concept of race has served the interests of dominant groups to maintain themselves in power. It began as a rationalized defense of the slave trade when this was challenged by the Abolitionists at the end of the eighteenth century. It was then elaborated by Gobineau in the 1850's as a blast against the philosophy of the French Revolution. His work has served the pro-slavery propagandists in the United States, and it was used as the source of the racism of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

Anthropologists have put little stock in these irrationalisms. But they have persisted in using the concept of race, although scientifically it has lost its validity. As Ashley Montagu writes: ". . . the anthropologist has taken over a very crude eighteenth century notion which was originally offered as no more than an arbitrary convenience, and having erected a tremendous terminology and methodology about it, has deceived himself in the belief that he was dealing with an objective reality. . . . The process of averaging the characters of a given group, of knocking the individuals together, giving them a good stirring, and then serving the resulting omelette as a 'race' is essentially the anthropological process of race-making. The omelette called 'race' has no existence outside of the statistical frying pan in which it has been reduced by the heat of the anthropological imagination."

The author's evidence to support his arguments is derived from recent findings of genetics and psychology. He would substitute the term "ethnic groups" for race, and it is clear from the facts given that this represents a change not merely of words but of a point of view. The reader will come away convinced that biological factors are not the determinants of civilization, and that cultural differences between peoples are explicable on historical grounds. The psychological functions of prejudice, the results of race mixture, and the vacuity of eugenics are also cogently discussed.

The weakest chapter of the book is that dealing with "Race and War," where the discussion is largely confined to a criticism of an address delivered by Sir Arthur Keith in 1941 justifying race prejudice and characterizing war as a "pruning-hook" of nature. One has a right to demand better coverage of such a topic during a world war in which the question of race has been made a crucial issue, not only in relation to the attack upon the Jews, but in relation to the future of the darker peoples the world over. It is in this chapter also that the author becomes stridently rhetorical and delivers himself of such ill-conceived jeremiads as: "Outworn traditional teachings have made of Western man a shockingly unintelligent creature, who lives under the continuous and unrelieved domination of a chaos of ideas more degrading, more stupid, more idiotic, and more saddening than it may ever be possible to describe." Fortunately, however, the book contains but a few such impetuosities.

BERNHARD J. STERN.

Poetry vs. Facts

THE REVOLUTIONISTS, *by Selden Rodman. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $2.75.*

IN BASING his poetic drama *The Revolutionists* on the Haitian revolution of 1791, Mr. Rodman chose an event of tremendous significance—one that demanded utmost ability as a poet and as a historian. This struggle that raged for twelve years was a great revolutionary achievement. Here were a slave people who had cringed and trembled before the authority of their masters but who organized themselves and rallied to their leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and defeated the finest armies of Europe. Toussaint, inspired by the French Revolution and seeing his people ground under the heel of slavery, aroused them with the burning message of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

But *The Revolutionists* does not move with the dramatic and irresistible force of a people's revolution. It is not the poetry of human conflict. From it we cannot get the dynamic crescendo of slave rising against master—and master in turn striking back with all the fury of desperation to protect his system. Rodman's revolutionists are not the same people of whom Wendell Phillips said, "Some doubt the courage of the Negro. Go to Haiti and stand on those fifty thousand graves of the finest soldiers France ever had and ask them what they think of the Negro's sword." And the author's portrayal of Toussaint, whose leadership was directly responsible for the revolution, makes of him a soft liberal. Yes, Toussaint submitted to arrest and agreed to go to France, but he was not afraid and did not retreat. He went because he believed that he could best consolidate the gains of the revolution by personal contact and cooperation with the new revolutionary French government. He did not know that reaction in the form of Napoleon had set in in France. Rodman has him saying, when he is arrested by General Leclerc:

"Christophe, if Leclerc
Brings back slavery—and I go now to warn him
Against such madness—do not take up arms;
The tide recedes: reaction cannot buck it;
Bonaparte, Leclerc,—no man can buck it:
But violence and hate if given license,
They can destroy us utterly. Therefore, Henry
Tell our people to forgive."

This is an unforgiveable distortion of Toussaint's statement. He really said, "In overthrowing me, you have cut down in San Domingo [later named Haiti] only the trunk of the tree of liberty. It will spring up again by the roots, for they are numerous and deep." Rodman also fails to show the treachery of Napoleon; nor does he fully elucidate the roles and significance of Dessalines and Christophe.

The author of *The Revolutionists* had an equation of historical development to place in poetic dimensions. The quantities were the

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slaves, the masters, and the individual slave leaders. But *The Revolutionists* casts aside the most important part of the equation, the slaves, and is concerned mostly with the activity and character of a few individuals. Thus Rodman ignores the historical development of the slaves as human beings in reaction to the increasing abuses of the slave system. Toussaint was a brilliant military and people's leader whose natural talent was multiplied by the social forces he represented—this book does not convey that fact. If it had, Rodman's picture of the revolution, instead of being tame and lacking in imagery, would have smoldered and blazed with the fuel of its subject.

JOHN HUDSON JONES.

Victorian Rebels

THE PRE-RAPHAELITE TRAGEDY, *by William Gaunt. Harcourt, Brace. $3.*

THE title of this book provides a label for Mr. Gaunt's thesis about the men and the movement he has studied. It neither reflects the mood of his story, nor is it justified by any fresh understanding of the most conspicuous of the rebels against mid-century conditions in Victorian England. The author has drawn copiously on the "modern treatment" of the Victorian period, given to our contemporary biographers by Lytton Strachey, refined but not improved by his many followers. Ironic wit, sly ridicule, a shrewd selection of those anecdotes which gradually diminish the prestige of celebrated names—all the devices of Strachey are found here, employed with less perspicuity, and without the detachment which made *Eminent Victorians* unified dramatic statements of character.

Mr. Gaunt has taken the whole course of the Pre-Raphaelite movement as a subject. To trace out its contradictory motives and ideals in terms of its leading personalities demanded of him not only the resources of a modern analyst of character, but also the full understanding of the social historian. The author, however, does his best work as a story-teller. He delightfully reconstructs famous incidents of Pre-Raphaelite history. He provides some memorable pictures of Rossetti and Millais, and some revealing side glances at Ruskin and Thomas Woolner. He has a clear appreciation of the tenuous bonds of the original brotherhood; the diversity of idea and temperament which thrust the artists out along divergent and contradictory paths is brilliantly revealed by his examination of their personal relationships.

"Theirs was the tragedy of the century," writes Mr. Gaunt in his Conclusion. "The Pre-Raphaelites looked on an age materialist in essence and governed by machinery as one that could not be accepted and could not be improved. They lived therefore a life of the imagination and nourished it from sources outside the materialism that surrounded them. . . . The sordid century was the reason for the dream. A special creation of Victorianism was anti-Victorianism." Thus has Mr. Gaunt posed the Pre-Raphaelites against the familiar terrain of the "hated century." Their anti-Victorianism becomes a bizarre decorative motif of the period, a little disconcerting perhaps, but not entirely out of place in the museum-like hodgepodge of fantastic extremes upon which the "modern treatment" (Mr. Gaunt gives us the term approvingly in his Appendix) invites us to feast our curiosity.

For this view of Pre-Raphaelitism, tragedy seems to me a singularly inappropriate word; and I cannot find in Mr. Gaunt's book a clear evaluation of this tragic experience. Surely the furniture which William Morris made, the books from the Kelmscott press are not the achievements of his which the present will consider most seriously—though they recall at once the Pre-Raphaelite setting. And to rank Morris among the age's "most brilliant misfits" seems again to deny that the Victorian period has any continuity with the present. To study this phase of the nineteenth century as one would regard one of its stuffed monstrosities mounted under glass may release a remarkably facile touch, but it would be better not to top one's handiwork with the cliches of what he considers social-historical criticism.

Fortunately, Mr. Gaunt does not draw too often upon his powers of social interpretation. As an art critic he is on much more secure ground. And he is exceptionally skillful in organizing the anecdotes about the Pre-Raphaelites into a firm and shapely pattern. He handles his material as a novelist would: the lives of Rossetti and his original circle and his later adherents interlace effectively. As they age and change in their attitudes toward each other, one sees that the force which originally drew them together, a common hatred of the reigning taste in art of their time, was modified, abandoned, or carried, in the work of Holman Hunt, to its absurd and extreme conclusion. Theirs was never a unified opposition; their war with the art of the age produced paintings from a formula that stirred no followers, and which were entirely out of harmony with the potent new forces in France. Their fatal error as rebels in art was to skip the present in attempting to relate the past to a hopeful future. But, in "not adapting themselves to their age," in some measure they called that age to account. And the strongest of them, William Morris, in linking his life and work to the problems of the workingman, foreshadowed the time when the workingman would bear the chief responsibility for maintaining the cultural heritage of the past.

ALAN BENOIT.

Our Russian Ally

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA, *by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Longmans, Green. $1.50.*

MANY people could have saved themselves "surprises" during the past year and a half had they read and fully digested the Webbs' *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization.* This authoritative work by two of Britain's most distinguished social scientists

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gave a realistic estimate of Soviet economic, political, and military strength. Their new book is reprinted, with modifications and additions, from the Introduction to the 1941 reissue of *Soviet Communism*. It is an up-to-date summary of the conclusions reached by the Webbs as to the internal organization of the Soviet Union.

The Webbs feel that the war has made it more than ever imperative for the people of Britain and the United States to understand the principles on which Soviet life is organized. In order to win the war and insure a permanent peace, "we must treat the government and people of Soviet Russia as equals, without any reserve arising from the deep-seated antagonism of our ruling class to the internal organization of the socialist fatherland." We must understand, say the Webbs emphatically, that Stalin is not a "dictator," that the USSR is a political democracy, that the western democracies have a great deal to learn from Soviet practice with respect to racial equality and the democratic control of the instruments of production.

The Webbs are particularly impressed with the philosophical basis of Soviet life, "scientific humanism," which rejects superstition, ignorance, and exploitation. This philosophy is embodied in the Soviet Constitution of 1936, the full text of which appears here in a translation by Anna Louise Strong. By studying this Constitution and Soviet life in general, "We may discover that many of the newly formed institutions are not contrary to the living philosophy of the Christian religion which the political leaders of the capitalist democracies assure us is the foundation stone of our own civilization, but are actually more in accordance with the precept of 'love thy neighbor as thyself' than the root impulse of profit-making enterprise, 'each man for himself and devil take the hindmost.' "

The Webbs express deep regret that the International Federation of Trade Unions has refused to accept, as members, representatives of the All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions with its 23,000,000 members. They oppose every attempt to trace Soviet resistance to "racial" factors rather than to the conviction of Soviet citizens that their political and industrial democracy is worth defending.

This volume is prefaced by an essay on the Webbs by George Bernard Shaw. It is in some respects, particularly in its references to Marx, a silly essay; but no fair-minded observer can dispute Shaw's high estimate of the authors of *Soviet Communism*. Events have proved the soundness of their analysis and the wisdom of their judgment. Their new book, while it adds nothing substantially new to their previous findings, should be read and studied by everyone who wants to understand the social aims and political means of our Russian ally. It is a fine contribution to that full and unequivocal cooperation between the Soviet Union and all the other anti-Axis powers on which victory and a permanent peace depend.

E. R. JAMESON.

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MR. ANDERSON'S PACIFIC OUTPOST

In "The Eve of St. Mark" he has projected in heartfelt terms the life of men who have left simple homes for the frontlines. Affirmations that needed more than symbols.

MAXWELL ANDERSON'S new play is the only drama of the war—and particularly America's participation in it—that is worthy of serious consideration. It is written by a man whose heart is in the cause for which we fight; who is in many ways close to the mainstream of American life; and who, whatever his shortcomings as a dramatist, is serious about his craft and its possibilities.

What he has attempted to do in *The Eve of St. Mark* is both simple and direct. He chose his materials with the greatest care, and his selection of characters was sound. Central figure of the play is Quizz West, a farm boy from upper New York state, a milieu with which the playwright is familiar. By presenting the home life of young West, his father and mother, his two younger brothers, the hired man, and Quizz's girl from the farm down the road, Mr. Anderson simultaneously presented a representative and solid segment of American life.

He follows his farm boy into the army, to the shores of the Pacific, to an island in our farthest outpost. The simple line of the narrative thus parallels the experience of millions of our men who have left simple homes they love for the strangeness of army life and the ordeal of fire. The figures and experiences encountered on the way are valid, even if somewhat stereotyped. There is the New York Jewish soldier, the Irish soldier, the old-time top sergeant, the boy from the South who describes himself as a representative of decaying southern aristocracy, the young Filipino nurse. There is the desperate last stand our men put up on Wake and at Bataan and Corregidor. So the material and the pattern are recognizable.

Now Mr. Anderson has been soundly criticized in the past for an approach to human problems that borders on the mystical; for his recurring temptation to resolve the pattern of his plays by reference to extra-human considerations. Therefore it is encouraging to see him strip from the present drama practically all considerations of a supra-sensory nature, and refer the resolution of his conflict directly to the understanding and experience of his characters. These men on the island have been given permission by their commanding officer to retire to another place. But the CO has left it to their own discretion; for if they remain, it is possible that they can hold up—if only for a few hours—the Japanese invasion barges. In this situation Mr. Anderson—and his characters—takes an active stand. The men elect to remain; they are all wiped out.

And the parents of Quizz West, back home, knowing of his loss, give their other two sons to the struggle. They know it is a struggle for life or death. It is not an easy choice they face, but they face it correctly in the confident knowledge that America and the life they represent are at stake.

Curiously missing from the play—in the face of these positive and honest attributes, which boil themselves down to the fact that our men are fighting for homes they love—is any comment (direct or indirect) about the war. What *is* this war that is carrying our men to battlefronts so many thousands of miles from home? What is it all about? What are the issues? Mr. Anderson seems studiously to have left them out. I am sure his choice was not capricious, and perhaps he felt that he would like to *symbolize* the universal conflict and give it a timeless quality by avoiding the "local, temporal, and contingent." If so, I feel that he was wrong. For would it not have strengthened the audience's understanding of the war (and its participation in the drama) to see clearly that America does not stand alone in this fight? That the war has been going on a long time now; that other people fought it before we did and are fighting it with us all over the world? Would it not have helped cement unity (and made for better drama) to know that there exist the United Nations; to know the nature of the enemy we fight—*fascism?*

Through failure deeply to characterize Quizz West and the other figures in his landscape, the landscape seems static and the characters two-dimensional. You can believe in Quizz, but you cannot be terribly moved by him. And what such a play, or *any* serious play demands, is that you should be both deeply moved by and profoundly identified with its characters.

FOR more was needed in this play—to round out the characters, to explain their heroic action—than to know that Quizz was a typical farm boy, and his companions were typical Irish-Americans, Jews, Southerners, Filipinos, juke girls, top sergeants. And with the exception of the southern boy, most of these people are therefore rubber stamps rather than people.

The narrative is carried forward by a long series of scenes that are really sketches, and too few of these contain more than the rudiments of drama. The one that does—the desperate choice our handful of men must make against staying to fight or retreating—is both the most moving scene in the play and, characteristically, one of the most violently overwritten. And the motivation for this scene is unfortunately too closely tied up to a really bad scene—the dream sequence, in which the playwright permitted the valid human emotion of homesickness to slop over into patent sentimentalism, with the hero on the island holding long conversations with his sleeping mother and sweetheart in America.

Mr. Anderson wanted badly to make an affirmative statement about the war, and he has succeeded in doing so. We need to be told, over and over again, that this is a just war; a war in which it is a privilege to fight, or die; a war that demands action, fighting, sacrifice to the utmost. And Mr. Anderson is closer to the mainstream of American understanding when he states these facts.

ABETTED brilliantly by Howard Bay, the designer, whose sets possess a dignity worthy a great work of art, Lem Ward, the director, has sensitively projected every value the author gave him and many of his own. He has made you believe, at moments, in characters the author's words do not project, sheerly through his handling of a cast of generally mediocre performers. For compared with Aline MacMahon, who is excellent, the other players are merely adequate. The Quizz West of William Prince and his sweetheart (Mary Rolfe) are pleasant but unexciting figures against a neutral background. The southern boy, as played by James Monks, is a real character—drawn much larger than life because Mr. Anderson, in some way, sees this character as his spokesman. He is called Frances Marion and is a descendant of Patrick Henry. He is a drunkard and a weakling, redeemed (melodramatically but unconvincingly) by some inherited (?) spark of American integrity, when the final choice is made. Martin Ritt is amusing in a small role; Joann Dolan, as a juke girl, is exactly right; and George Matthews, Grover Burgess, and Joven Rola carry conviction as the top sergeant, the hired hand, and the Filipino nurse.

The Eve of St. Mark is a great advance over Mr. Anderson's *Candle in the Wind, Journey to Jerusalem,* and *Key Largo,* and even when it is not sufficiently explicit about the war or its characters, it is moving and deserving of respect. ALVAH BESSIE.

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Fun With Russell

"My Sister Eileen" comes to the screen.

ROSALIND RUSSELL and the Right Part have found each other again, after several years of searching through the jungle; and the combination makes *My Sister Eileen* a warm and gay film comedy worthy of comparison with the stage play on which it is based. The authors have for the most part deviated from the Broadway original as little as the Hays office would let them. Here and there a wisecrack has fallen by the wayside, but it's remarkable how many have kept on marching along. The tramp of feet through that little Greenwich Village basement above the subway excavation is as loud and hilarious as ever.

In translating the play into film terms, Chodorov and Fields considered it necessary to add certain explanatory material, setting forth in detail happenings which the play covered in two or three sizzling words. These additional scenes, while not actively unpleasant, are irrelevant and far less funny than affairs in the basement flat, supplying nothing but the assurance that Columbia's rich enough to build more than one stage set. They are not long enough to interrupt your laughter, fortunately. Where the film does fall below the play is in a perceptible coarsening of tone, an overplaying of its best scenes. One of the high spots of *My Sister Eileen* is the invasion of the two girls' basement by eight Brazilian naval cadets full of improper proposals in Portuguese. The possibilities of this situation will be readily understood; they were completely developed in the play, and it was hardly necessary for the film to superimpose on them the spectacle of the stately Miss Russell repeatedly emerging from a clothing closet to kick a policeman in the rump.

Similarly, the innocently alluring Eileen of the play is broadened into a very conscious siren by the incalculable will of the film's director, Alexander Hall—although Janet Blair, the regrettable young lady entrusted with the part, is no doubt partly responsible.

My Sister Eileen, however, is intrinsically too funny to be hurt even, say, by an amateur cast of Harvard boys; and with Rosalind Russell in the part of Ruth nothing could damage it much. Given lines she can get her teeth into, Miss Russell makes the most of the enormous comic opportunities of the role; she is salty and slangy, wry and sardonic, or just plain slaphappy as the occasion demands, and when necessary she can add a touch of genuine emotion to lift matters above the level of farce. Most of the other performers, while not her equals, are at least workmanlike.

"Lunch Hour Chess," by Marguerite Cardona. This picture was awarded the one-year scholarship to the National Academy of Design and will be on display at the Art Labor Show at the Ferargil Galleries, 63 E. 57th St., N. Y. C., through November 7. This exhibit is the first labor art show in the United States, and is sponsored by the Dressmakers' Union, Local 22, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union for the benefit of United China Relief. Pictures to be exhibited will be the work of cutters, pressers, pinkers, sample-makers, operators, finishers and cleaners.

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Allen Joslyn does well as an amorous reporter; Brian Aherne is amusing though hardly true to life as an editor. Miss Blair's Eileen is a misfortune, but an unobtrusive one. The absence of Morris Carnovsky is the film's gravest fault. George Tobias, who plays Mr. Appopolous, is not bad, but he lacks the deftness with which Carnovsky made that memorable figure at once fantastically absurd, sharply satirical, and astonishingly pathetic. Nevertheless and yet again, the film which is based on the play which was based on Ruth McKenney's stories is a darn funny film.

SINCE our strictures last week on hysterical screen laughter, the perfect example of such hysteria has turned up in the shape of *The Devil With Hitler*. We are not reviewing this inanity as a film, but as a symptom. It is a complete refusal to admit that bullets kill, that beatings hurt, that fascism is dangerous, that we are playing for keeps in this war.

The idea is that the Devil is about to be deposed in favor of Hitler by his demons, Hitler being worse, and that Satan has to persuade Hitler to do a good deed in order to discredit the latter in hell. Everybody in the film thinks this is an awful cute idea. Veni, vidi, vomui.

Certainly this is the work of men scared silly. But it is worse than that; it is the product of people who are simply not fit to be trusted with the important job of making our films, or indeed making anything but mudpies. Normal human intelligence could not possibly have produced *The Devil With Hitler*. For your information, it was produced by Hal Roach Studios.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

Record Ballot

New war songs on wax. Shostakovich's Fifth.

OUR first affirmative vote goes to Frank Loesser's song, "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition." It has made record appearances for Columbia with Kay Kyser's lilting orchestra backed up by a female vocal trio, and on Decca with the Merry Macs. But by far the best presentation of the song is Keynote's release, which treats it most ingeniously as a spiritual. "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" has its roots in an actual incident during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor when a chaplain assigned to one of our ships left his prayer book for an anti-aircraft gun and sprayed the Tokyo fascists with the only sermon they understand. The song, already a commercial hit, has been taken up by our boys in the camps.

Another good reason for getting this Keynote release is the reverse side, called "Marching Through Berlin," which, if we remember our tune detecting, is a brilliant swing version of none other than "Deutschland Uber Alles." This is a particularly smart coupling, for these two songs will undoubtedly fight it out for the honor of being War Song Number

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One. Our personal preference is for "Marching Through Berlin." Frank Loesser's song has a few muddy spots but not enough to interfere with your over-all enjoyment; a diamond in the rough is still a diamond. The "Marching Through Berlin" disc is a gem! Performances on both sides are by the newly discovered Royal Harmony Singers, a Negro quartet, backed up by fourteen voices in a choir that sounds as though it were trained by Hall Johnson.

Our second affirmative vote is for Columbia's new recording of Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony. Mr. Stokowski has already waved his golden locks and supple hands over this score for Victor and turned out an excellent recording. Nonetheless this further effort by Columbia finds a mat of welcome on our doorstep. The symphony received its premiere performance during the twentieth anniversary celebration of the Soviet Union. The performing artists are the Cleveland Symphony with Artur Rodzinski speaking softly and carrying a big stick. A technical description of this massive work would be out of place, for it is music better listened to than described.

A vote for Victor's new album of Russian folk songs: a balalaika orchestra furnishes the proper background and Alexander Kipnis is in splendid form.

And an affirmative vote to the two record companies who put out albums to supplement the stage appearances of Irving Berlin's *This Is the Army*. The Decca album has the original cast of soldiers on wax, including Mr. Berlin himself, who fortunately writes much better than he sings. This Decca album, on the whole, finds the performers better than the engineers who recorded them; the chorus suffers from an all too frequent recording ailment—bad microphone placement. The Victor album employs professional singers and orchestra and is much smoother and more finished. This album belongs in your record library but make sure you listen to both before you buy.

Our negative votes take the form of a protest against the two major record companies which, because there is a war going on, insist on trotting out all the old warhorses who would be much happier in forgotten pastures. Why waste good record shellac on Victor's new *Nutcracker Suite*, Fritz Kreisler's recordings of his old encore pieces, *Pomp and Circumstance* by the Toronto Symphony, and E. Robert Schmitz's reading of "Claire de Lune"? All these have had innumerable waxings already and really required no redoing. This is a better time than any to record such vital music as Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony, to record any other music that helps paint a portrait of our fellow United Nations.

Another "nay" is cast against the major companies who seemed to have put their best foot a little too far forward when they issued albums of folk music and are now withdrawing them from the active list. If this is a war of the people, then this is a strange time to withdraw the music of the people.

HENRY CURTIS.

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